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The Christian Faith in the Modern World

A STUDY IN SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY

BY

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PRIMITIVE RITUAL AND BELIEF

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

THE STONE AGE

THE BEGINNINGS OF MAN

SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENT

CRITICAL CATHOLICISM

First impression, 1930

PREFACE

WHILE the subject of this volume is not my main line of study, I have long realized its fundamental importance, and devoted to it as much time and thought as my professional duties and anthropological investigations have allowed. For some years, in fact, it has been my intention to write a technical book dealing with the theological aspects of my science, and to this end I have been collecting material as opportunity has occurred. Pressure of other commitments, however, compelled me to abandon the hope of producing such a work in the near future, and reluctantly I had put the manuscript on one side when I was led to reconsider my decision by the appearance of the 'Pastoral Letter' recently issued by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. Since a good deal of my material had a direct bearing on the questions raised in this 'encyclical,' it seemed a pity to allow it to lie idle if its publication and amplification in a less technical form might be of any use in showing that 'through new light thrown upon the Bible and new discoveries of science rightly understood we are reaching a new knowledge of God and of His ways of revealing Himself.' After consultation with the publishers and some of my theological friends, I determined to venture upon the task, though on a much broader basis than was my original plan.

Here, however, a further word of explanation is required. In these days of specialized research many are the pitfalls awaiting those who go outside their own domain, and therefore in undertaking a work like the present volume, which necessarily covers a wide field of investigation, it is inevitable that one strays into paths where one is a comparative stranger. Under these circumstances it behoves one to walk warily, and to be guided by the general consensus of expert opinion, or to scientific method has now permeated all the 'schools,' and it is generally adopted in theological colleges. Nevertheless, the older generation, and I would venture to add, not a few of the younger men, often have never really seriously faced the intellectual problems confronting the Church at the moment.

In other professions whatever a man may have lacked in early training to enable him to accommodate his mind to present day thought is usually supplied through contact with modern ways of thinking. The clergy, on the other hand, move very largely in a traditional environment where many of their most intimate acquaintances and best supporters are (as Renan remarked of the Abbé Le Hir) like a pearl which lives in the sea without being affected by the salt, deficient in nothing except in a critical understanding of the thought of their age. Moreover, they are confronted at the other end of the scale with a revolutionary attempt to destroy the foundations of historic Christianity in an endeavour to establish in its place a new system of Christian ethics. Between the extremes of pious obscurantism within and a reactionary Modernism without, the parish priest is to be the more pitied than blamed if in despair, having little time and perhaps not much inclination to think matters out for himself, he goes on repeating the old shibboleths and half-truths of an obsolete theology, which at least are acceptable to a considerable section of his congregation as easily disturbed by new ideas as it is prolific in good works.

Yet dare we shut our eyes to the fact that 'nothing can survive or prevail the *truth* of which is incapable of sound defence'? To quote again the Dean of King's College, Cambridge (whose orthodoxy will hardly be questioned), 'Even the Church must fail if she is unable to show that her doctrines enfold and illuminate all the new knowledge better than the systems, and make the larger vision of God available for the inspiration and practical life of men.' It is by no means an easy task to present to a perplexed generation the ancient and eternal truths of the Christian religion as they have been revealed in progressive sequence throughout the ages, in a manner that is at once loyal to the revelation that has been given in the past, and at the same time in accord with the new disclosure that is being vouchsafed in the divine providence in these latter days through the scientific method. Yet if historic Christianity is what it claims to be, it must be capable of such a presentation, and it is to this formidable task that the Archbishops have called the Church of England at this juncture.

'The Gospel has been given. It is for the Church to proclaim it. The great body of truth about God and man which lies behind it has been given. It is for the Church to be a witness to it. But what has been given must be ever newly-grasped—made real in life, interpreted and expressed to meet the needs of each successive age.' If this volume makes any contribution to this end, the interruption in my customary studies entailed in its production will have been abundantly justified.

In the hope that it may be of some use to serious students, as, for example, to ordination candidates and the clergy, as well as to the general reader, I have given references in the text in footnotes, and added a fairly full bibliography to each chapter, containing not only the works consulted in the preparation of the manuscript but also a selection of the standard books bearing on the matter under discussion. I am aware of certain *lacunae* in the lists, but having in mind the needs of ruridecanal group-discussions (as suggested recently by the Bishop of St. Albans) and similar mixed gatherings, I have tried to include volumes written from very different points of view in order that the problems may be seen from as many angles as possible. This method, abhorrent to a certain type of mind, is I am certain the most effective in the elucidation of truth. If Roman Catholic writers are in a minority it is only because the literature from this source having a positive bearing on critical and scientific questions is so very small. But any omissions brought to my notice will be gladly supplied if and when opportunity occurs.

I am extremely grateful to all who have helped in various ways in the preparation of the manuscript, and notably to Dr.

Goudge who, in spite of his manifold academic activities as Regius Professor of Divinity in this University, found time to read the first draft of the original material. It is mainly to his invaluable criticisms that the book owes its present form. Another very much occupied scholar, my friend Dr. E. G. Selwyn, read certain chapters, and willingly bestowed upon me the wealth of his theological learning, while Dr. C. Harris was equally generous on the philosophical side. Mr. T. W. Squires, whose life has been devoted to the production of theological literature (and who incidentally himself has recently written a delightful historical account of West Oxford), has both read the entire manuscript and allowed me to discuss various questions with him from the standpoint of the educated layman. Those who are privileged to know Mr. Squires intimately are not left in any doubt concerning his whole-hearted allegiance to all that is best in the Oxford Movement, while his deep spirituality is a real inspiration. It has been of the greatest value to have such a wise and devout counsellor at hand to keep one from falling into the snare of becoming merely academic. Among others to whom I am much indebted, my friend and colleague, the Rev. A. Mallinson, has read and discussed some of the chapters from the point of view of the intelligent parish priest, and Mr. S. Cook of the University Observatory has again generously helped me in proof-reading. Finally, my devoted wife, as on so many former occasions, has shown her never-failing interest and companionship in my work, and willingly offered her quite invaluable aid at every turn.

E. O. JAMES.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD.
November, 1929.

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THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THE MODERN WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE

IN the long history of the development of civilization no movement has had greater effect on the life and thought of man than that begun in the seventeenth century of our era by the little group of pioneer scientists who, like Nicholas of Cusa before them, were feeling their way towards a new cosmology based on direct observation. The new type of thought adoped by such men as Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton, laid the foundations of the rational study of the physical universe, and marks the beginning of the real break-away from the traditional outlook which had hitherto prevailed.

As a system of thought Christianity historically belongs to the ancient world, notwithstanding the fact that it introduced a new philosophy of life which was destined to penetrate and modify society in all subsequent ages. The early Church, however, based its theory of the universe mainly on the Semitic conception of a threefold cosmos, while the problem of the mediaeval theologians consisted chiefly in fitting the Platonic philosophical scheme into the framework provided in the Genesis stories of the Creation and Fall of man in relation to the Incarnation, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. The new currents of thought which began to make their way in Europe during and after the thirteenth century introduced new intellectual ideals, but the Renaissance looked back to the ancient classical world, and while it awakened interest in Greek culture, and infused the Greek spirit of inquiry into the mediaeval heritage, it did not make any serious attempt to study Nature as an independent phenomenon without reference to philosophical or theological presuppositions. True, Antonio Pollaiuolo and Andrea del Verrocchio studied surface anatomy, and Leonardo da Vinci displayed unique scientific insight into natural phenomena, as did Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, but notwithstanding these notable exceptions, the New Learning was so deeply rooted in the past that it could not hope to do more than restore the pseudo-science of antiquity. Isolated individuals detached themselves from the spirit of the age, but, during the Renaissance and the Reformation which grew out of it, social ambitions and religious prejudice were not on the side of the scientific workers.

The new type of thought established by the pioneer mathematicians and physicists of the seventeenth century constitutes the real beginning of the modern world, in which the Church has to make its life explicit. Therefore, as this is still the prevailing outlook in the twentieth century, and is likely to dominate mankind more and more as time goes on, it may be worth while to consider briefly at the outset of our discussion some of the more assured results of the new method which has changed so completely the traditional conception of the universe, its laws and its inhabitants. Hitherto the earth had been regarded as a fixed centre, round which the heavenly bodies revolve, as Ptolemaeus had taught at Alexandria in the second century A.D.; or the middle floor of a three-storeyed building, as the Semites supposed. The Copernican astronomy, on the other hand, followed the Pythagorean notion of the earth as a planet revolving round a central luminary.

This seemed to be a heresy alike to the Catholic successors of the Schoolmen and to the Protestant Reformers, both of whom had moulded their theological thought on the geocentric theory. The opposition of the Church was doubtless partly due to its fear of any and every new movement in view of the open revolt against its jurisdiction breaking out in all directions, though it was also conditioned by the theological implications. Thus the Inquisition condemned the conclusion that the sun and not the earth was the centre of the universe as being contrary to the Sacred Scriptures and the scholastic philosophy, just as the Reformers opposed the theory on the ground that it conflicted with the literal interpretation of certain Biblical texts like Joshua x. 12 f. These contentions, of course, are perfectly true and just, for the writers of the Bible and the framers of mediaeval philosophy had an entirely different conception of natural phenomena from that which was beginning to find expression in the seventeenth century. Illingworth may be correct in saying that the Copernican astronomy only upset the view of man's relation to the universe 'in minds of a materialistic bias' since 'those who estimated man by the claims of his spiritual nature' were 'as unaffected by the size of his dwelling-place as by the cubits of his stature.'[1] But, nevertheless, if the earth is really a planet revolving round the sun instead of the centre of the solar system, as the Bible and the Church assumed, the human race was in a sense decentralized, God was made more remote, and the current belief concerning the inerrancy of Holy Scripture directly challenged. It would therefore seem, viewing the situation from the standpoint of the age, that the action of the religious leaders was justified, however regrettable it may have been.

In those days neither side realized the true significance of the new evidence that was in process of accumulation, and both parties were at cross-purposes. This is also in great measure true to-day, though the situation has very materially changed in the intervening years. Then it never occurred to anybody that truth is many-sided, and it is possible to be mistaken even about things which have always been regarded as infallible. To Catholics, Protestants, and scientists there was but one kind of truth, and that they had each discovered. Therefore anything that conflicted with it could not be true, and must be resisted by the stronger party. The Church (and equally the Reformers, of course) being in possession became the persecutor, as subsequently scientific materialism, when it gained the ascendancy, tried to destroy religion. In the long reign of aggressive intolerance little has been achieved of permanent value to either side of the dispute, and much has been lost to the cause of truth. Happily, however, a new spirit has arisen in recent times, and while the masses probably still are thinking in terms of the old controversy, modern scholarship views the problem from a very different angle. If this has necessitated a fundamental change in the theological approach to Biblical and ecclesiastical traditions, and the conception of truth vouchsafed by revelation, it has also brought about an equally revolutionary attitude to scientific phenomena.

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[1] *Divine Immanence* (London, 1900), p. 21.

NEWTONIAN PHYSICS

Newton, it seemed at the beginning of the scientific renaissance, had revealed a mechanism which was adequate to explain the mystery of the natural universe without reference to supernatural agencies as they were then understood. Hitherto the heavens had been regarded as the crowning glory of the handiwork of the Creator, but Newton interpreted them in terms of mechanical principles, so that, in the skilful hands of his successors, the entire universe has been reduced to a unitary system in which the old cosmogony has no part, and the category of the 'supernatural' is eliminated. Thus, to-day, we do not expect to find references to Deity in an astronomical treatise, but it came as a shock to the eighteenth century when Laplace, on being asked why God was nowhere mentioned in his famous nebular theory of the origin of the solar system, replied, 'Sire, I have no need of that hypothesis.'

Newton had shown the reality of matter, motion, space, and time, and the law of gravitation seemed sufficient to explain 'how every particle of matter in the universe is altering its motion with reference to every other particle.' Matter, in fact, appeared to undergo only those changes which we conceive as movement in space, and consequently, on this hypothesis, Newton was justified in affirming that space so considered was absolute. But if this were the case some explanation had to be given for the fact that light apparently moved in empty space which he regarded as incapable of acting as a medium of physical change and of physical processes. All that he could suggest to account for this contradictory phenomenon was that light itself consists of minute material particles or corpuscles which interact with ponderable matter through special forces.

But this corpuscular theory did not explain the propagation of light *in vacuo* with a definite velocity. Moreover, Huygens arrived at the conclusion that light was transmitted in the form of waves through an invisible medium called ether, which was supposed to permeate all space and all matter. Between the earth and the stars it was alleged there are vast regions devoid of all matter but filled with the universal ether which acts as the carrier of light and energy from the sun to our otherwise benighted planet. This theory was rejected by Newton, and it seems to require a good deal of modification to-day, but it was largely responsible for destroying Newton's theoretical system. Now expert opinion is very much divided since one group of phenomena can be explained by the corpuscular theory and another group requires the wave theory, while relativity physics is revolutionizing the Newtonian conception of time and space.

Since the days of the pioneers it has been demonstrated by Clerk-Maxwell that energy, like mass, is 'a quantity which can neither be increased nor diminished by any action between the parts of the system, though it may be transformed into any of the forms of which energy is susceptible.' The different forms of radiant energy were shown to be convertible into electricity, light, heat, and so on, and in 1850 the work of Joule, who converted mechanical energy into heat, laid the experimental basis of the doctrine of energy, just as Faraday had succeeded in 1831 in producing electricity from magnetism. By passing a current through a coil of wire, wound on one half of an iron ring, Faraday found that a transitory current was produced in another coil wound on the other half of the ring when the circuit in the first coil was made or broken. By inserting a magnet in the coil he discovered that currents were produced, and thus a new branch of physics—electro-magnetic induction—was established.

Clerk-Maxwell having shown the transmission and radiation of electro-magnetic waves, interpreted the undulatory theory of light in terms of electro-magnetic occurrences in the hypothetical spacial ether. On this hypothesis, light became electro-magnetic in origin, its perception being due to the passage of electric waves through the ether. It now only remained for John Dalton to complete the work of Lavoisier by introducing the atomic theory of matter. Having observed that substances combine in definite proportions of their weights, he concluded that in the last analysis an element is made of indivisible particles or atoms which constitute the smallest parts of a body capable of exhibiting its essential properties.

To those familiar with the speculations of Democritus and Lucretius, the notion of atomic matter was not altogether new, but the scientific application of Dalton's work had far-reaching results, especially in view of the important biological discoveries that were being made about this time. Réaumur had shown in 1752 by his study of enzymes from the digestive juices outside the body that the processes of life possessed a definite optimum temperature, and in 1801 Bichât elaborated a tissue theory which in 1835 was supplemented by Johannes Müller's researches on the problem of the cell. Seven years previously Wöhler had succeeded at Giessen in synthetizing urea in a test-tube, thereby proving that organic compounds are subject to the ordinary chemical laws without the invention of a peculiar 'vital force' to account for their behaviour. Finally, biology was established on an atomic basis by Schleiden and Schwann, who in 1838 and 1839 demonstrated that the cell and not the organ is the atom of biology, though it was not till more recent times that the ultimate nature of matter has been determined.

THE NEW PHYSICS

It has now been shown by the researches of such physicists as Rutherford, Bohr, Eddington, and J. J. Thomson, that within the atom are constellations of positive and negative electricity called electrons, like the ‘cathode rays,’ or streams of minute electrical particles which Sir William Crookes discovered in 1878 while he was studying the discharge of electricity through a vacuum tube. As a result of further observations of the properties of these rays, Hertz and Lenard prepared the way for Röntgen’s accidental discovery of X-rays in 1895. The existence of invisible rays with a wave-length as small as atoms having been demonstrated, the next year witnessed the discovery by Henri Becquerel that uranium and its compounds are phosphorescent on exposure to sunlight, and emit rays which can penetrate opaque materials, and affect a photographic plate, like X-rays which enable foreign bodies to be located in a living man’s body.

RADIO-ACTIVITY

The practical value of radio-activity has been, of course, immense, and it has also thrown considerable light on the problem of the constitution of matter since X-rays are not material particles but a new variety of *light* with a remarkable power of penetration, and a very short wave-length. Moreover, Becquerel’s discovery showed that at least one substance, uranium, appeared to be continually producing X-rays. This led Professor and Madame Curie to search for the source of the emission by analysing various minerals for radio-active elements. Having selected a certain kind of pitchblende as the most active substance they examined, they succeeded in extracting a new element, radium, a million times more radiant than uranium, continually giving out heat and light without any apparent chemical change. Already Sir J. J. Thomson had isolated the ultimate unity of negative electricity in the electron, and Max Planck of Berlin detected in 1900 the unit of radiant action, or quantum, emitted from a molecule which had been excited by some collision in the electro-magnetic field. The discovery of radium revealed an unsuspected store of energy, and it soon became apparent that both in a vacuum tube and in a metal like radium, atoms were breaking down and giving off different rays, called by Rutherford after the first three letters of the Greek alphabet. The Beta or second group, consisting of particles of disembodied electricity, has since been identified with the electrons, which are shown to be capable of separate existence as an independent entity under certain conditions.

THE ELECTRON THEORY

The atom, then, so far from being an inert unit, is now known to be a world of ceaseless activity and enormous internal energies, in which electrons (particles of negative electricity) pursue orbits, like planets round the sun, a heavy nucleus of positive electricity corresponding to the central luminary in the solar system. Each atom has its own number of electrons revolving at various rates in their own orbits, all of which can be measured through their Gamma, or X-ray spectrum. The most complex element is uranium consisting of ninety-two electrons revolving round a central positive nucleus which again is a microcosm composed of two hundred and thirty-eight hydrogen nuclei, or protons. This nucleus of positively electrified matter has not yet been isolated, and therefore little is known about it besides the fact that it represents the mass of the atom, the negative electrons surrounding it weighing only about 1/1830th of the weight of the positive nucleus of hydrogen. Hydrogen being the lightest element and smallest atom, has the simplest nucleus containing only one proton with one electron revolving round it, whereas that of lead is very complex having eighty-two negative electrons surrounding it.

An atom of radium being composed of a complicated constellation of positive and negative electricity, is continually breaking down and liberating another element, helium. According to the disintegration theory of Rutherford and

Soddy, one grain of radium would be reduced to half a grain in 1,760 years as a result of the breaking up of its atomic structure. In the helium nucleus there are four protons or hydrogen nuclei, which can be converted into energy, and it is the possibility of this being utilized for practical purposes that inspires romantic themes concerning the harnessing of the atom, since we have here the greatest potential force in the universe. Already Rutherford has succeeded in breaking up atoms of nitrogen with bullets composed of atoms of helium, and so producing atoms of hydrogen, but in radio-activity a spontaneous transmutation of elements is a constant occurrence.

This electronic theory of matter, which is now generally accepted by all competent authorities, reveals first of all an etheric realm of electricity, motion, force, and energy behind the material universe. Behind all matter, from the smallest and simplest atom of hydrogen to the heavy and complicated atoms of lead and gold, are positive and negative units of electricity. Moreover, the hypothesis has an important bearing on the relative character of all actual motion, and on the whole problem of reality in the physical universe. Thus it is now no longer possible to maintain the Newtonian attitude towards matter, motion, space, and time as real form. The theoretical system built up by Newton and his successors on this hypothesis of reality presupposed, as we have seen, that light, like all other physical phenomena, consisted of material particles interacting with ponderable matter through special forces. Therefore when it was demonstrated that light can be reduced to the vibrations of electrons, and is capable of being deflected out of its course in passing heavenly bodies, such as the sun, exercising powerful gravitational attraction, a considerable revision of the former concepts became necessary. That light, magnetism, gravitation, and so on were waves in a hypothetical ether was never more than a conjecture to account for certain phenomena, and a delicate experiment with rays of light, performed by Michelson and Morley in 1887, failed to establish the theory. In fact, as Sir James Jeans says, ‘nature acts as if no such thing existed,’ and Einstein has produced evidence against the hypothesis which has had far-reaching effects on subsequent research.

THE EINSTEIN THEORY

This brilliant German mathematician maintains that gravity is not a force, as Newton imagined, but a property of space. Falling bodies behave as they do not because they are attracted to the earth but because space itself is slightly curved like the surface of a concave mirror. Therefore all things that pass through it move in curves rather than in straight lines, as was hitherto supposed. This has been proved by experiments with light. Bodies moving freely on a curved surface would come together in such a way as to appear to attract each other, thereby producing an appearance of being subjected to a gravitational force. But if this be the real cause of gravitation the waves of light will behave in the same way as other objects. Therefore he prophesied that the light of a star, passing near the sun, would be bent by the gravitational field of the sun. This was first detected during an eclipse in 1919 when careful observations were made at Sobral in South America.

Extending the theory to the solar system, the earth is explained as moving in an elliptical path round the sun, not because of gravitational force but because the sun disturbs space-time, and so causes an elliptical course to be adopted. The fact that the heavenly bodies do not follow a straight path was explained by Newton as the result of the pull of gravitational forces, but it now appears that since everything is distorted in passing through space, the shape of the medium is the real cause of the phenomena. This assumption, however, entails a complete revolution in our conception of space, the postulates of Euclid being no longer tenable since two straight lines produced to any length through a curved surface will eventually meet.

It is not only Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics, however, that have suffered at the hands of Einstein, but our whole conception of time and space. The laws formerly regarded as absolutes are now shown to apply actually only to the perception of people living on this planet since they belong merely to our framework of space and time. To an observer in the sun, or in some other planet, things would appear very differently because our methods of reckoning distances and time-intervals are the result of the measuring rods and clocks which we have invented for our own purposes. Actually they are only properties we ascribe to objects without real existence, there being no such thing as absolute space and absolute time. All the manifestations we experience in the physical universe are a combination of time, space, and matter, comprising one actual reality, and it is when we split this unity up into its component parts that the complications arise. Events become separated from one another not only by their position in space but also in time, and we are then faced with the question how far the space and time interval is the same for everybody. Einstein has shown that there are many possible frames of space and time, no one of which is more fundamental than the rest. Despite our geocentric outlook, a rod seems to have one length for the person holding it, and another for an observer moving towards or away from it, while it is impossible to tell in looking at a passing train from a railway carriage window whether the train we are in or that on the parallel line is in motion. In short, we form our own conceptions of time, space, and motion relative to our position in the universe, but the actual reality underlying all the manifestations we experience is not spatial, temporal, or material, but a blend of all three. The net result of Einstein's work is to resolve them into a 'continuum,' or inseparable union. Actions and events really occur in space-time, all our standards of measurement and all our clocks being variable relative to the conditions governing this planet.

In the real world time provides a fourth dimension for the three dimensions of space, and just how these four dimensions are separable depends on the outlook of the observer. This was recognized by Mr. H. G. Wells before Einstein enunciated his far-reaching hypothesis, when in *The Time Machine* he made the Time Traveller observe that 'any real body must have extension in four directions; it must have Length, Breadth, Thickness, and Duration. But through a natural infirmity of the flesh we incline to overlook this fact. There are really four dimensions, three which we call the three planes of Space, and a fourth, Time. There is, however, a tendency to draw an unreal distinction between the former three dimensions and the latter, because it happens that our consciousness moves intermittently in one direction along the latter from the beginning to the end of our lives.'[1] But since the mind of an insect has only a notion of two dimensions and we know three, there is no adequate reason to deny the existence of a fourth dimension to which our minds will pass when they are emancipated from the limiting conditions of time and space.

In the light of these illuminating researches the physical universe has taken over a very different guise from that which it wore in the days when Newtonian concepts prevailed. It is now no longer possible to think of material bodies floating in a homogeneous and continuous space, inasmuch as matter is known to consist of high-speed energies developing huge, curved, permanent 'fields' called Space-Time which constitute the paths and determine the course all events follow in the natural order, extending far beyond sensible matter. Matter, in fact, is represented as an aspect of the ultimate entity selected by the human mind, and our perceptions of time and space are revealed as pseudo-concepts in which matter is supposed to exist, but actually they are metaphysical abstractions without relation to our real experience.

In the bewildering complexity of the ultimate nature of the electron we seem to reach the confines of a new and higher order of Reality which is only knowable symbolically. This is even more apparent in what is called the Quantum Process which appears to indicate that atoms pass from one state to another by a series of jumps through some wave-action symbolized by the Greek letter ψ. This is considered by Professor Eddington to be an elementary indefinable.[1] Here we seem to have entered a domain of law of a type hitherto unrecognized in the locomotion of the molecule or the atom, and which is of such an abstract nature that it can only be expressed concretely by means of symbols. Under these changed circumstances the physicistcan no longer dismiss spiritual perceptions on the ground that they are abstract, for to-day he realizes that in the physical universe the ultimately real things lack concreteness. Ether, time, space, and even matter have now been reduced to symbols, and the fourth dimension, postulated by the Relativity hypothesis, is an abstract though measurable concept, just as the mathematical contention that space-time constitutes 'an unbroken mass and sequence of one reality' is beyond the powers of concrete reasoning.

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[1] London, 1911, pp. 2 f.

The physicist therefore lives to-day in a world of symbolism in which only highly trained experts can move freely, though outsiders with a general scientific training, like the present writer, may venture to glean the prevailing ideas set forth in the authoritative text-books. From them it may appear that science is no nearer explaining the nature of reality than it ever was, and not a few of its most eminent exponents recognize that they are dealing only with phenomena and not with ultimate causes,[2] but nevertheless behind the puzzling symbols and intricate mathematical formulae, there is an ultimate order, however undefined it may be, and after all to the scientist *qua* scientist *x* must always represent an unknown quantity. It is for the theologian and the philosopher to give it some other evaluation. Clearly the physical universe presupposes some metaphysical interpretation. As Professor Whitehead says :

> Some particular *how* is necessary, and some particularization in the *what* of matter of fact is necessary. The only alternative to this admission, is to deny the reality of actual occasions. Their apparent irrational limitation must be taken as a proof of illusion and we must look for reality behind the scene. If we reject this alternative behind the scene, we must provide a ground for limitation which

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[1] *The Nature of the Physical World* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 216.

[2] op. cit., pp. 296 ff.

stands among the attributes of the substantial activity. This attribute provides the limitation for which no reason can be given: for all reason flows from it. God is the ultimate limitation, and His existence is the ultimate irrationality. For no reason can be given for just that limitation which it stands in His nature to impose. God is not concrete, but He is the ground for concrete actuality.[1]

This, however, will become more apparent when the evolutionary process has been considered in greater detail.

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[1] *Science and the Modern World* (Cambridge, 1928), p. 221 f.

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CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

NO sooner had the Copernican system been established in scientific circles than its implications in connection with the problem of the creation of the universe became apparent to the acuter minds. The idea of evolution was implicit in the new astronomy, and it was not long before Kant recognized that the whole sidereal system was capable of explanation in terms of a cosmic mechanism. It was not then realized that the whole variety of animal and vegetable life, and the scheme of inter-relationships which existed between species and their environment, both living and non-living, had arisen by gradual change from simpler, or, at any rate, from different conditions. But Laplace, in a brilliant conjecture in 1796, laid the foundations of an entirely new cosmogony when he pictured the original condition of the solar system as a vast luminous gaseous mass of rotating matter generating enormous heat, and increasing its velocity as it contracted. Like Kant, he was unaware of the existence in the heavens of such gigantic rotating masses of gas, or nebulae, familiar to astronomers to-day ; and therefore to hit upon this idea, and make it responsible for the birth of the world by postulating rings of gas being thrown off by centrifugal force at critical moments, was one of the most remarkable scientific 'guesses' that has ever been made by a trained observer.

The Nebular Hypothesis

This Nebular Hypothesis has been very considerably modified by recent research, but nevertheless it represents the first really adequate attempt to explain the origin of the solar system, and it has been the basis of all subsequent investigation. It now seems that the nebula from which our system of planets evolved must have been a million times the size of that conjectured by Laplace. As it acquired rotation under gravitational influence it bulged at its equator, and sent off spiral arms which produced systems of stars as they condensed. These exercised a tremendous gravitational pull on bodies in their path. It is thought by Sir James Jeans and others that about two thousand million years ago some wandering giant star came sufficiently close to our nebula—the ancestral sun—to raise a huge gaseous tide on its flanks which became a long stream of gas. As the star continued to exercise a powerful gravitational attraction, the arms of the nebula were drawn out beyond recall, and so were detached as separate planets revolving round the rest of the nebula (i.e. the sun). A planetary system of this nature appears to be a rare occurrence in the heavens, and Sir James Jeans has shown that it is not likely to happen more than once in a thousand million years. But, nevertheless, there is no reason to suppose that our own is the only solar system, the age of stars now being reckoned in millions of million of years. He finds, moreover, terrestrial evidence indicating that the age of our earth must be between 1,500 and 5,000 million years, and he infers from this that the planets and their satellites were born out of the sun about that distance of time ago.[1] But the age of the stars gives no definite clue to the age of the cosmos as a whole. It must have taken more than 60,000,000,000 years for the primeval chaos to condense into nebulae, and behind this there is an incalculable length of time during which the protons and electrons remained in a dissociated form. So far, then, as actual beginnings are concerned, all that the new cosmogony can affirm is that the universe had an origin in time, the subsequent development being in the nature of an evolutionary process.

THE BIRTH OF THE EARTH

The newly-liberated earth at first must have been more like what the sun now is—a great globe of glowing gas, only rotating like a top. On the surface was a great tidal molten stream of red-hot lava upon which the sun in its turn exercised an enormous gravitational attraction with the result that at length particles were ejected, perhaps when the surface was beginning to cool and solidify. In this way the systems of satellites appear to have been formed, the gaps left on the surface by pieces that escaped producing probably the basins of the oceans. At first, apparently, there was no atmosphere, and although it was a long time before rain fell, the steam discharged from the interior condensed into water and collected in the hollows on the surface forming the oceans, rivers, and lakes (the hydrosphere), so that the salts in the surface rocks dissolved out. Thus the sea became salt, and sedimentary deposits were laid down by particles of the crust on the highgrounds being worn away through the action of air and water. They were then carried away by rivers and seas to become in course of time sandstones and other sedimentary rocks. It was while these sediments were collecting that life emerged in the Archaean or Eozoic era—the first of the four great divisions of geological time—and at this point the Darwinian hypothesis begins.

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[1] J. H. Jeans, *Astronomy and Cosmogony* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 388, 402.

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE

It is now beyond question that in the ascent through millions of years of continuous life on the earth, there has been a sifting on the part of Nature, species originating through a continuous and creative adaptation in either stable or changing conditions of environment. This evolution is not content merely to reproduce existing forms, but constantly gives rise to new creations possessing higher values and more specialized structures. The process seems to have begun by carbonic acid gas combining with the water vapour on the muddy shore of some primeval lagoon to form a starch-like carbohydrate which absorbed nitrogen from some ammonia salt, and under the action of sunlight living organisms emerged. Life regarded from the standpoint of the chemist is merely an elaborate arrangement of ordinary matter, the difference between the living and the non-living being a question of complexity, depending upon certain physical conditions such as temperature. Thus, well below the boiling-point of water, protoplasm, the seat of life, undergoes an irreversible change known as coagulation. A similar change occurs near the freezing-point of water. The earth therefore seems to be the only environment in which physical life is possible in accordance with bio-chemical reactions, since elsewhere the temperature far exceeds that required for the phenomena to occur. Moreover, the chemistry and physics of the sun and stars are totally different from the chemistry and physics of the conditions in which life is possible. Therefore, as Sir James Jeans says, the only 'possible opportunities for the existence of life would appear to be on a planet some distance from a star's surface, this planet consisting only of "permanent"—i.e. not spontaneously disintegrating—matter, torn originally from the star's surface and transplated to a safe, but not too great, distance from its hot surface.'[1] But planetary systems seem to be of 'the nature of freak-formations,' not normal events in the evolutionary course of stars. There is therefore little ground for assuming, all things considered, that on any other planet born out of a star evolution has run a course identical to that which has occurred on the earth.

THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Simple forms of life having emerged by carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen combining in the proportions present in such substances as starch, and adding to their composition a little nitrogen, and minute quantities of phosphorus, sodium, chlorine, and other elements, in the warm and constant temperature of the dense atmosphere of the hydrosphere in the Eozoic period, unicellular organisms, or protozoa, like the amoeba, acquired the power of absorbing food, of growth and of reproduction. From these shapeless masses of protoplasm the whole panorama of life, animal and vegetable, that passes before us through the countless ages since the primary era, proceeds in ordered sequence from the amoeba to man, controlled apparently, as Darwin showed as early as 1859, by natural processes and biological forces.

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[1] op. cit., p. 412.

It is at this point, however, that we reach the crux of the problem for, while the fact of evolution is admitted by every competent biologist, the mode in which it occurred, and the mechanism by which it was brought about, have been and still are questions of acute controversy. According to Lamarck and Darwin every structure in an animal had a definite function to perform in its daily life, and in order to enable the species to adapt itself to a change in its habits conditioned by a new environment, an alteration in structure became essential. Morever, this adaptation to surroundings Darwin thought produced greater efficiency, and therefore it made for the survival of the fittest. On this hypothesis, the mode of life determined the form of the species, Natural Selection being really the determining cause of change, and the secret of survival. It was therefore a mechanism capable of reproducing new forms by the multiplication of small variations spread over an immense period of time.

In a measure this is true since, as De Vries has shown by his experiments with evening primroses,[1] many large variations, or *mutations*, are heritable. But here we have an advance from the old to the new by a sudden leap rather than by the slow piling up of small discontinuous variations. Exactly how far acquired characters are transmitted to descendants it is exceedingly difficult to say, and both the evidence, and expert opinion on it, are hopelessly conflicting. Weismann denied any inheritance at all, while Mendel demonstrated that certain stable characters are often inherited whole, and in a definite ratio of recurrence. Lamarck was doubtless right in maintaining that organs were acquired when the animal strove for them since the individual choice of habit and of habitat appears to be an important factor in throwing old adaptations out of balance and putting new survival values on certain characters.[2]

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[1] *The Mutation Theory* (London, 1910), pp. 135 ff.

[1] cf. Osborn, *Man rises to Parnassus* (Princeton, 1927), p. 175.

Organs first acquired as non-heritable modifications are acquired in course of ages as true hereditary adaptations, like tending to beget like, so that the body of the parent influences the germ of the next generation in numerous subtle ways. The slow and steady improvements in limb structure can be observed in the mammal-like reptiles from Lower Permian to Lower Triassic times, as Professor Watson pointed out at the recent (1929) meeting of the British Association, the arm which at first lay at right angles to the body gradually moving nearly parallel to the principal plane of the animal, the stride being greatly lengthened and every muscle contributing both to the support of the body and to its propulsion. Here is a case where an improvement of an animal mechanism can be observed which definitely enables an animal to move faster than its ancestor. But, as Professor Watson says :

> Such general improvements in the mechanism of an animal's body, which are the only adaptations which can be proved to have occurred, differ so greatly in scale and in their general nature from that detailed fitting of an animal to some particular niche in its environment which Darwin believed to occur, that it is important to investigate where there is any general occurrence of such special relationship of structure and habit, and whether if it occurs it is rightly to be regarded as of adaptive origin.[1]

It seems true to say that evolution normally leads to modifications of structure which proceed steadily, the changes in structure being generally of such a character as to produce greater mechanical fitness for the special mode of life of the animals. But these changes do not always have any such adaptive significance, and we cannot be sure that we are always dealing with direct ancestors.[2] There is therefore the danger of treating the problem in a manner analogous to confusing the dress of a man's great-uncle with that of his grandfather. Doubtless further light will be thrown on the causes of variations in species when we know more about the part played in the process by the ductless glands which in the higher animals extract substances from the blood and discharge them directly into the blood stream as 'hormones.' As these glands appear to be related to the sex organs, it is not improbable that the secretions affect the germ-cells which are closely connected with bodily activities and their reproduction. In the present state of our knowledge, however, we can only say with any degree of certainty that evolution has occurred, but exactly how it came about we do not know. The character of the available data is inadequate to determine which, if any, of the possible factors are responsible for the origin of species.

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[1] *Report of British Association*, 1929, p. 92.

[2] cf. D. M. S. Watson, *Palaeontology and the Evolution of Man* (Oxford, 1928), p. 13.

CREATIVE EVOLUTION

For our present purpose it suffices to postulate evolution as the continuous creation of life having new properties and faculties fitted to a continuously changing environment. As Professor Lloyd Morgan says :

> Evolution, in the broad sense of the word, is the name we give to the comprehensive plan of sequence in all natural events. But this orderly sequence, historically viewed, appears to present, from time to time, something genuinely new. Under what I here call emergent evolution stress is laid on this incoming of the new. Salient examples are afforded in the advent of life, of mind, and in the advent of reflective thought. If nothing new emerge—if there be only regrouping of pre-existing events and *nothing more*, then there is no emergent evolution.[1]

De Vries in setting forth his mutation theory recognized, as we have seen, that advance from the old to the new constituted emergence rather than a gradual evolution through a series of minute variations, as Darwin suggested ; while Bergson has called attention to the ceaseless 'urge' of a life-force, or *élan vital*, in Nature finding its outlet in variation, and new forms, which in time builds up the concrete universe within and around us.[2] This force is creative inasmuch as it

[1] C. Lloyd Morgan, *Emergent Evolution* (London, 1923), p. 1 f.
[2] *Creative Evolution* (London, 1911), pp. 92 ff.

Collection Of Late Abdul Haq Burg Srinagar.

produces new qualities and potencies out of those that have gone before. But the *élan vital* is really, on this hypothesis, a blind force immanent in the universe, impelling mind and matter into particular forms and attributes. In the concept of emergent evolution we get beyond this since a new entity is called into being by a creative act, coinciding with a new habitat and habits of life.

This, of course, does not necessarily imply the existence of a Personal Creator equivalent to the idea of God which found expression through the Hebrew Prophets ; for emergence could proceed from space-time to matter, life, and mind 'so as to produce a plan' without being actually directed 'according to plan' from without. Nevertheless, it leaves room for divine creative activity if there be other grounds for the existence of Deity.

In the last chapter we endeavoured to show that ultimately the physical universe is reduced to abstract symbols which in purely scientific terms represent unknown quantities. Yet behind these symbols there is Reality transcending the methods of scientific inquiry. As Professor Eddington says :

> Natural law is not applicable to the unseen world behind the symbols, because it is unadapted to anything except symbols, and its perfection is a perfection of symbolic linkage. You cannot apply such a scheme to the parts of our personality which are not measurable by symbols any more than you can extract the square root of a sonnet. There is a kind of unity between the material and the spiritual worlds—between the symbols and their background—but it is not the scheme of natural law which will provide the cement.[1]

Mind passes into realms from which matter is excluded, while the universe itself in dimensions and mechanisms transcends the limits of the human mind. Behind the symbols of science and religion there is Ultimate Reality, and surely the complex universe with its 'endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful' which have been and are being evolved can no more be explained as the result of some chance mechanism, than human personality and experience is explicable in terms of natural law. 'Matter, for common-sense, is something which persists in time and moves in space.' But, as Bertrand Russell admits, 'for modern relativity-physics this view is no longer tenable. A piece of matter has become, not a persistent thing with varying states, but a system of inter-related events. The old solidity is gone, and with it the characteristics that, to the materialist, made matter seem more real than fleeting thoughts.'[1]

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[1] *Science and the Unseen World* (London ,1929), p. 33.

The consciousness of personality in man and human intelligence are something more than mechanisms working through a series of variations from an original mass of protoplasm sensitive to light. It is now possible to trace with some degree of accuracy the proto-history of the human race through its mammalian ancestry in the Tertiary age,[2] and if we are still in the dark concerning the precise moment and method of its emergence, further research will doubtless fill in many of the *lacunae* in our present knowledge ; but when all has been said and done, the coming into the universe of the human organism represents a sudden leap over the wall separating the human from the non-human. A fresh personality with higher faculties was originated, which is nothing less than a new creation—a psychical entity with a special range of capabilities and tendencies and anatomical features, in various ways conditioned by his ancestry, yet constituting a separate individual with exceptional potentialities. Man was and is a new synthesis of mind, and his emergence made a new world.

The composition of the human brain is undoubtedly mammalian in origin, and it differs from all other brains only in its power of growth and complexity. At birth the brain of an infant weighs only one-fifth of its final mass, and, unlike the other vertebrates, man can continue to add to the number of nerve-cells after birth ; an adult cerebral cortex (which is probably the seat of memory) having no less than 9,200,000,000 cells. An ape, on the contrary, starts off with two-thirds of its full cerebral growth, and therefore has not so much margin for further development.

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[1] Introduction to Lange, *History of Materialism* (London, 1925), p. 11.

[2] For a summary of the evidence see my *Beginnings of Man* (London, 1928), ch. ii.

This difference in mental capacity has enabled man to gain the supremacy, to exercise creative functions, and given him his superior powers which have found expression in art and industry, social organization and religious experience. Thus by his own creative intelligence he has virtually changed the whole course of evolution, and called into being spiritual characters hitherto unknown. Progress up to this point was achieved through the emergence of new sub-species, but in the kingdom of man the individual on his own initiative has influenced and changed the face of the earth and built up a complex social structure. In the lower forms of life, as indeed in non-living matter, processes equivalent to those of a mental order can be detected, but they are of such low intensity and so diffuse as to be quite subordinate. With the development of the nervous system and the sense-organs they have gradually become intensified, specialized, and localized, and so played an increasingly prominent part in the control of the organism, till in man they have acquired the power of generalization enabling mental associations to be made, so that not only does the mind control the body, but it has become so far emancipated as to pursue its own ends without reference to their biological significance. Therefore, as a rational being, man has a mental life distinct from the mere requirements of the body, and is capable of appreciating ethical ideals, of creating literature and art, of studying scientifically the universe of which he is a part, and even of arriving at some estimation of values and reality outside the domain of sense experience.

In the human organism mind is an organ of 'spirit,' and on this level the activities of higher orders of reality operate. The evolutionary process implies the entry of new factors at every emergence incommensurate with what went before. Life emerges from dead matter as a new direction, and later consciousness emerges in life. Then comes a realization of moral and spiritual values, the human mind not being content with an interpretation of the higher in terms of the lower, as Herbert Spencer imagined, when he made difference of quality the equivalent of difference of complexity and structure, and attempted to explain personality in terms of particles in motion. The evolutionary theory of Spencer failed to give any reasonable account of the entry of life and consciousness into the process. This deficiency is supplied in great measure by the new concept of 'emergence' to account for the coming into existence of new qualities. 'It accepts the "more" at each ascending stage as that which is given, and accepts it to the full. The most subtle appreciation of the artist or the poet, the highest aspiration of the saint, are no less accepted than the blossom of the water-lily, the crystalline fabric of a snowflake, or the minute structure of the atom.'

The organic series proceeds through the continuous arrival of new factors entering, as it were, from beyond. The cosmic order as a whole is but an emergence in the space-time continuum developing at many levels and conforming to various patterns. At the head of the series stands man as a spiritual organism structurally one with the rest of the order, but equipped with higher potentialities. Above and beyond the natural order there is eternal reality transcending the cosmic series and immanent in it. Thus—

> Whilst the human organism reaches down into the series, it also reaches up beyond it into an *eternal order*. The ultimate standards of reference which we acknowledge may properly be called eternal, if we take that term to indicate an order of reality whose significance in no way depends upon the conditions of change and development characterizing the series of events in space-time.[1]

Mind is an organic structure with a physical basis, and it is in no sense a peculiar possession of the human race. Moreover, the Idealist notion, that mind transcends all 'naturalism' because mind makes Nature, is a theory unintelligible to the average scientist. But if the universe is not a mental fabrication, neither is it a merely mechanical structure. Mind and consciousness cannot be brought into the chain of natural causation by eliminating either function or structure. It is only by adding something to that which has gone before that the human mind as an organ of spirit can be adequately explained. As in the emergence of the molecule from the atom, and the cell from its molecules, something new arises as a result of the fusion of the component electrons or elements, so from complex groups of cells higher psychic or personal qualities proceed. A machine is an instrument operated by a living agent with creative intelligence, but it does not of itself produce new forms, still less is it capable of evolving organisms conscious of their existence.

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[1] L. S. Thornton, *The Incarnate Lord* (London, 1928), p. 56.

Similarly, the mere will to live can hardly initiate thought. Vital energy may account for life, but can it explain consciousness? Even the theory of 'entelechy,' revived and elaborated by Professor Driesch, by which a non-mechanical energy is supposed to have the power of calling forth pyschical qualities, does not carry us much further, since entelechy is actually little more than another name for an active immaterial agency comparable to 'life.' It therefore does not solve the mystery of human consciousness any more than Bergson's *élan vital* impelling mind and matter to find an outlet in fresh experiment. Nevertheless, to conceive of life and mind as parts of an organism, and not of a machine, is a distinct advance on nineteenth-century materialism.

It is now possible to go a step farther and find in *creative evolution* the true solution of the universe and man. Every distinctively new type of living creature, and indeed every new chemical compound, is a new creation in its way, inasmuch as something startlingly novel emerges which is more than an additive summation. Thus development has proceeded by a series of jumps involving physical and mental discontinuity. In man this process reaches its climax, the new synthesis being a new creation still bearing in his physical structure the indelible stamp of his lowly origin, but, as the creative intelligence of Darwin perceived, equipped with a 'God-like intellect, which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system,' and, we may add, even beyond into the heavenly realms of spiritual experience.

A blind, impersonal, unintelligent energy acting through colloidal matter is an inadequate cause to produce creative and ethical intelligence capable of appreciating spiritual values, so that goodness is placed above self-interest, and the soul is restless and unsatisfied till it finds rest in the Ultimate Reality, conceived as Divine Infinite Personality transcending all human aspiration and endeavour. As the structure of the brain and of the nervous system does not explain the full secret of man's life, so, as Dr. Streeter has said, 'natural selection no more brings into existence instincts or qualities which have "survival value" than a scholarship examination brings into existence clever and well-taught boys. It merely tests and selects the materials presented.'[1]

The mechanistic interpretation of evolution which prevailed in the last century has proved to be incapable of explaining adequately the cosmic process and the human organism. Time and space, matter and mechanism, structure and function, cannot be made to fit in a purely materialistic schema as was then supposed. Motion does not explain itself, and the problem of creation is not solved when the solar system has been traced back to its origin in the inconceivable remoteness of the stellar universe, and the blazing energy at its threshold. At the ultimate end of all things we reach a sphere outside the realm of scientific investigation or speculative cosmology.[2] In a universe of finite mathematical abstractions which have become concrete and actual in a world of living organisms, of evolving life, and of creative, rational intelligence, God is the ultimate limitation, and evolution the revelation of divine purpose and personality.

Thus Professor Lloyd Morgan maintains that 'evolutionary advance and progress is a manifestation of Divine Purpose,' to be observed 'in an ascending hierarchy with new modes of relatedness, in a series of ascending steps along different lines of evolutionary advance. . . . In so far as there is progress and advance in the cosmos, God is All in All but in diverse modes and degrees of manifestation.'[1] Both in the slow progressive steps of organic development and in the creation of new emergents of 'discontinuous existence,' purpose and a scale of emerging values are discernible, for in the whole complex series of variations in biological species there is a tendency to pattern-formation, and not a mere haphazard arrangement of electrons, atoms, molecules, and organs. Some unifying principle other than blind mechanical operation is required to account for the evolutionary process.

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[1] *Reality* (London, 1926), p. 159.

[2] Regarding the vexed question of creation in time, both the idea of God and of creation involves 'a more essential point than the notion either of a beginning in time or a beginning of time,' God being the ground and support of the world continuously, and not merely its beginning. cf. Matthews, *Studies in Christian Philosophy* (London, 1928), pp. 201 ff.

If to-day the Aristotelian concept of an Unmoved Mover is in great measure ruled out of our scientific scheme of the universe, we still require God as 'the Principle of Concretion,' as Professor Whitehead points out,[2] to account for the abstractions describable only in mathematical symbols becoming concrete in a world of evolving life, intelligence, and spiritual perceptions. There must be an 'ultimate limitation' Whose existence is the ultimate supra-rationality, and the ground for concrete actuality and rationality. Here we reach a concept beyond the powers of abstract reason but perceptible through spiritual experience. It is not enough to substitute the word 'God' for the word 'Nature,' or to equate Deity with an *élan vital*, or a fourth dimension, though all these conceptions play their part in the processes of creation. Force, mechanism, energy, dimensions, are scientific terms and symbols of scientific operations, whereas God being Ultimate Reality is spiritually discerned. In our spiritual experiences and human relationships we are concerned with personalities rather than with mechanical forces, and if God is the ultimate limitation, extra-temporal and extra-spatial, existing as Alpha and Omega, beginning and end, fused into a single concept, Eternity, in Whom the universe only exists, He cannot be some impersonal force or energy, the supreme mover of mechanisms.

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[1] *Life, Mind, and Spirit* (London, 1926), p. 288.

[2] *Science and the Modern World*, p. 216.

Thus we are led to postulate Divine Infinite Personality at the point where human reason fails, intelligence, will, and goodness, as known to us in experience, being always the attributes of some personal being. It is only as an expression of intelligently directed will that the universe is explicable, and therefore the category of personality is the most inspiring that we can ascribe to the Power behind creation Whose operations transcend all temporal limitations though they are mediated in time and space. Moreover, in the principle of creative love we find the quality inherent in Reality,[1] life instinct with love being the dynamic essence of Reality. In man this finds its fullest expression in human personality; at once the climax of creative activity in the natural order, and the mirror of the Infinite Personality above and beyond the concrete universe of time and space. In man the natural and the supernatural, the temporal and the eternal, meet, and approaching the problem of creation through our human nature, we are driven to find the ultimate limitation in Creative Love and Infinite Divine Personality.

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[1] cf. Streeter, *Reality*, pp. 213 ff.

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CHAPTER III

THE OLD TESTAMENT

SINCE modern science no longer exhibits the universe as a mere mechanism operating according to certain fixed laws pursuing the even tenor of their ways independent of Divine guidance, with mind a by-product of matter, there is nothing in the evolutionary process, as now understood, to necessitate the denial of the supremacy of God over His creation. Even when Nature was pictured in the nineteenth century as a blind, unconscious mechanism, before all the new knowledge briefly discussed in the foregoing chapters had illuminated the problem, Darwin recognized that 'the theory of evolution is quite compatible with the belief in a God,'[1] since, as Huxley admitted, it 'does not come into contact with Theism, considered as a philosophical doctrine. That with which it does collide, and with which it is absolutely inconsistent, is the conception of creation which theological speculators have based upon the history narrated in the opening of the Book of Genesis.'[2]

This is more apparent to-day, for not only has God's sovereignty over, and His activity in, the universe been vindicated in a remarkable way by recent scientific research, but the traditional view of special creation as set forth in the opening narratives of the Bible has been revealed in the process as quite untenable. The complete change in outlook in the directions both of Theism and of Revelation that has occurred in the world of scholarship during recent years is, however, at present unrealized to any appreciable extent outside the restricted circles in which these matters are scientifically studied. Popular science, therefore, is still thinking in terms of Nature ruled by blind mechanism, just as popular theology regards the universe as a crude dualism of the natural and the supernatural in antithesis, based upon Semitic conceptions and hypotheses.

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[1] *Life and Letters* (London, 1889), vol. i, p. 307.

[2] *British Association Report*, 1878, p. 575.

The violent opposition to the Darwinian theory in the last century was mainly the result of its obvious incompatibility with the Scriptural cosmology, then universally regarded as a record of events that actually happened at the threshold of creation, and all that was implied in that scheme of thought. Now that the 'horrible paradoxes of one generation' have become 'the commonplaces of schoolboys,' and 'the startling proposition of 1860 a fact that no rational man can dispute,' numerous attempts have been made to bring the Genesis stories into relation with the scientific evidence, regardless of the fact that the two methods of approaching the riddle of the universe are incommensurable. No amount of juggling with the narratives, or elaborate theorizing about mythological 'pre-adamic races,' can transform folk-lore into history, though it is all too easy in the process to destroy the poetic and religious value of the literature, to say nothing of the hopeless state of mental confusion that such devices inevitably produce.

Actually, of course, the Genesis question is only one aspect of a very much deeper problem involving our attitude to Holy Scripture as a whole, Old and New Testaments alike. The Darwinian hypothesis raised a crucial issue, but it was not the only indication in the last century that the time had arrived for a thorough investigation of the composition of the Bible, and the determination of the real nature of revelation. The Cambridge School of Textual or Lower Criticism, associated with the honoured names of Westcott, Hort, and Lightfoot, demanded freedom of thought concerning the infallibility of the Scriptures, and while they were chiefly engaged upon the attempt to discover the original text, the principle applied equally to the Higher Critical investigation of the origin and composition of the various documents, and their analysis into their component sources.

Towards the latter part of the century, the comparative study of religion, initiated by Max Müller (1823–1900) and E. B. Tylor (1832–1917), made it apparent that Christianity and Judaism, however unique in revelational value, were after all only part of the general religious development of the world.

It now seemed that the old sharp distinction between what was known as 'Natural Religion,' comprising, it was asserted, the 'superstitions' and 'false doctrines' of the heathen, and 'the truths which came down to us from heaven' as the special prerogative of Israel and the Christian Church, could hardly be maintained. When the position of Adam and Eve, who, of course, were regarded as the recipients of the original revelation in the Garden of Eden, became less assured, the foundations of the theory appeared less secure, and the whole edifice received a bad shock when Robertson Smith delivered his famous course of lectures at Aberdeen in 1888 on 'the primitive religions of the Semitic peoples viewed in relation to other ancient religions, and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity.' True, as a result, the pioneer was deprived of his chair of Hebrew in the Free Church College, but no petty persecution of this kind could alter the facts he had revealed. Soon he was elected to the Professorship of Arabic at Cambridge and became recognized as one of the ablest scholars of the day, who with Tylor had begun a new epoch in the history of religion.

The idea of regarding religion as an aspect of human culture of vital importance to the historian and the scientist, as well as to the theologian, to be studied like any other phenomenon apart from preconceived notions of truth and falsehood, had never occurred to any one before the new movement of thought arose in the last century. But as records of similar beliefs and practices among people in very varied states of culture poured in from all corners of the world, it was seen that by correlating the mass of material an attempt could be made to discover the fundamental religious conceptions of the human race, and to determine their mode of development. This, of course, at once put the Biblical narratives into their proper historical setting, and enabled them to be studied in relation to the whole phenomena. Many events and circumstances formerly looked upon as historical now appeared as symbolical or metaphorical representations of reality, and the actual historical element in the Old Testament was brought into relation with the contemporary literature so that the mythological narratives could be studied in terms of comparative folk-lore.

THE PENTATEUCH

The scientific study of the Pentateuch revealed that the Book of Genesis, hitherto ascribed to Moses, was actually composed of several documents, of which the earliest sources were the work respectively of a *Judaean* historian (commonly called J) living about the middle of the ninth century B.C. (i.e. *c.* 850), and of an Ephraimite scribe (known as E) who wrote in the Northern Kingdom about 780 B.C. These narratives were subsequently combined, in some cases in rather a clumsy manner, and brought into relation with a third source (P) which had been produced by the Priestly school during the Exile in Babylonia, though it was probably not until just before the return of Ezra (i.e. about 600–450 B.C.) that the Pentateuch assumed its present form.

In addition to these three documents, J, E, and P, the Book of Deuteronomy represents a separate section based on the Book of the Law found by Hilkiah in 621 B.C. The original nucleus of this work was probably a product of the seventh century B.C., which made its way into Judah from the north after the fall of Samaria, and played its part in the reformation of Josiah. The Deuteronomic tendency, however, lasted well into the fifth century B.C., if not later, and the newly discovered roll (which seems to have been quite short since it was read apparently twice in one day) must have been re-edited and considerably enlarged after the 'restoration' (*Deut.* iv. 29–31; xxx. 1–10).

In the Book of Leviticus, chapters xvii–xxvi, there is an ancient document, known as the *Law of Holiness*, which the

Priestly writer incorporated into his own laws to emphasize the supreme requirement of moral and ceremonial holiness demanded of Israel by Yahweh. From it Ezekiel, the great priestly prophet of the Exile, drew his picture of the restored Temple and its ritual (*Ezek.* xl–xlviii), and it was doubtless compiled as a code in the early days of the Babylonian captivity (*c.* 570 B.C.) though, in their original form, the laws go back to more ancient times.

Similar to this section is the *Book of the Covenant* embedded in Exodus (*Exod.* xx. 22 to xxiii. 33; cf. xxiv. 7) which seems to be of even greater antiquity, belonging to a time long before the rise of a professional priesthood, or of a Levitical tribe (*Exod.* xx. 24). It is the oldest known collection of Hebrew laws, but while it contains a number of resemblances to the Code of Hammurabi, it does not seem very likely that Sellin is correct in ascribing the authorship to Moses, inasmuch as the legislature suggests an agricultural stage of society. The most probable date would appear to be between the conquest of Palestine and the establishment of the monarchy.

The Pentateuchal traditional history, therefore, rests on four main documents compiled at different periods from the ninth century onwards, supplemented by earlier material, and revised and woven together by late editors to produce a composite continuous narrative. It seems highly improbable that Moses was himself the author of any part of the Hexateuch, though certain portions such as the Book of the Covenant may contain injunctions for which he was ultimately responsible. It is, of course, impossible to arrive at precise historical conclusions in dealing with oral traditions collected and written down by later scribes long after the events described are alleged to have happened. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the obscurities of the Pentateuchal period, few competent authorities are now prepared to deny that the foundations of the worship of Yahweh were laid by Moses in the desert. The principal documents agree in making him the great legislator, prophet, teacher, and advocate of Israel, who established the worship of Yahweh as the God of the Hebrews, and with divine guidance and assistance led them through the wilderness. However much his exploits may have been embellished in later ages, the figure is too prominent in the national history to justify any attempt to dismiss the character merely as fictitious.

We may regard Moses, then, as the first commanding figure in Israel as a nation, since, as Sir James Frazer says, 'there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that in these broad outlines the tradition concerning him is correct.' [1] But if we accept this conclusion it is difficult to avoid the deduction that his religious position is incomprehensible unless it be granted that he appealed to the God of the patriarchs. He could hardly have made his way among the people if he had come in the name of an absolutely strange and unknown God. But he might reasonably hope for some success if he rested his position on a fresh revelation made to him by the God of Abraham (whatever His designation may have been), whom some at least remembered and acknowledged.

THE PLACE OF THE HEBREWS AMONG THE NATIONS

The archaeological and anthropological evidence does not help us very much to arrive at any very definite conclusions regarding this early period in the history of Israel. We know that the Hebrews were a composite people ethnologically; a part of the dark, long-headed inhabitants of the Southern grass-lands extending from Western India through Persia and Arabia to North Africa. Throughout the steppes and deserts of Arabia languages are spoken which are collectively known as Semitic, and it is to this linguistic-group that the Hebrews and Babylonians belonged. It was doubtless soon after the vast hordes of Semites had established themselves in the valley of the Euphrates, after the long struggle with the original Sumerian settlers, that the migration took place from Babylonia to Persia, about 2250 B.C., which, according to the Abram tradition, represented the beginning of the Israelite occupation of Canaan.

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[1] *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1918), vol. ii, p. 437.

There is strong reason to believe that, despite certain legendary accretions, the personages and movements recorded in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis represent accurate oral traditions of events which actually happened during the initial stages of the settlement of Israel in Palestine.[1] Thus in the first dynasty (*c.* 2123–2081 B.C.) Babylonian records the names Abram and Abraham occur, together with the forms *Ya*, *Yau*, which seem to be the designation of an Amorite deity, and may well be a shorter form of Yahweh. 'Amraphel,' again, may be Hammurabi, and the description of the battle of the plain in Genesis xiv. 1–10 contains names that appear to refer to historical individuals, and is consistent with the political situation in the East at that time.[2] It is highly improbable that a Jewish scribe in the period of the Exile could have invented these names, or been aware of the historical facts which have only recently become known through the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions. The data suggests that he obtained his information from an ancient record, and this is supported by the chapter (*Gen.* xiv) having the appearance of an isolated narrative with a peculiar literary history.[3]

ISRAEL IN EGYPT

Passing to Egypt, the other great centre of civilization with which the Hebrews were apparently in intimate contact in ancient times, the evidence is even more meagre, and such as exists is more conflicting than the Babylonian references to the patriarchal traditions. Semites certainly penetrated into the valley of the Nile between the VIIth and XIIth dynasties (*c.* 2600–2212 B.C.). But it was at the close of this period that, according to the Egyptian historian Manetho, successive waves of Semitic tribes poured into the fertile valley and ultimately established themselves as a monarchy, known as the Hyskos, or Shepherd-Kings (1800–1580 B.C.). It is apparently to these movements that the various descents mentioned in Genesis refer, though at present it is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory correlation of the Biblical and Egyptian chronology.[1]

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[1] cf. S. A. Cook, *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1924), vol. iii, pp. 352 ff.; H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East* (London, 1924), pp. 194, 546; A. T. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 244.

[2] Pinches, *Old Testament and Records of Babylonia and Assyria* (London, 1908), pp. 208 ff.

[3] For a further discussion of the Babylonian evidence see pp. 53 f.

It may fairly safely be concluded, however, that certain Israelite clans temporarily sojourned in Egypt during the rule of their fellow-Semites, the Hyskos, and there came under the inspiring personality of Moses. It is hardly possible that all the tribes were ever in the Nile valley, and a section of the Hebrew population seems to have had definitely Aramaean affinities. Nevertheless, the majority of Egyptologists and Biblical scholars agree that 'there is a kernel of history in the traditions of Israel's stay in Egypt is not to be doubted,'[2] for 'a legend of such tenacity, representing the early fortunes of a people under so unfavourable an aspect could not have arisen save as a reflection, however much distorted, of real occurrences.[3] Therefore, whether the date of their departure be placed early or late, the fact remains that 'at some time or other certain of the people who subsequently came to be known as Hebrews dwelt in Egypt for a time, and afterwards entered or re-entered Canaan.'[4]

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS

A long period of war and disorder followed the Hebrew domination of Palestine till the Israelite and Canaanite tribes were fused into a nation under king David. The events of this epoch are recorded in the so-called 'historical books' of the Old Testament which follow the Hexateuch. In this literature Israel is represented as a Theocracy in terms of the later prophetic conceptions though some of the material was drawn from ancient sources. The primary aim of the narratives being religious, the historical element is frequently stressed in one direction or another to bring out certain theological truths, themes often being developed into stories, or *Midrashim*, for purposes of religious instruction, in accordance with the thought and practice of later times. Thus David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah, being great religious heroes, are given greater prominence than important kings like Omri or Jeroboam II, while the Book of Chronicles (written between 300 and 200 B.C.) conceals questionable actions recorded in the earlier narratives (Samuel and Kings) in presenting an idealized picture of the founder of the dynasty of Judah. Real history, however, is often enclosed in a picturesque framework, and this may be illustrated in the case of the early records of the kingdom, and the account of the return from the Exile given in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

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[1] J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus* (Edinburgh, 1925); C. F. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* (London, 1921); Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Liverpool, 1922), p. 21; Luckenhill, *American Journal of Theology*, vol. xxii, 1918, p. 40.

[2] Luckenhill, op. cit., p. 40.

[3] A. H. Gardiner, *Recueil Champollion* (1922), p. 204.

[4] Peet, op. cit., p. 21.

THE PROPHETS

Nevertheless, it is not until we come to the prophet Amos in the year 760 B.C. that we find the actual words of a living writer. The approaching conquest of Palestine by Assyria was apparent, but he saw in the catastrophe the hand of Yahweh to bring about a reformation in Israel. For, notwithstanding the reforms of Elijah, and the subsequent efforts of men like Asa in Judah (1 *Kings* xv. 12, 14), and Jehu in the Northern kingdom (2 *Kings* x. 18 f.), the cults of the Canaanite deities continued to flourish (2 *Kings* xii. 3). It was not in fact until the elaborate system of sacrificial worship recorded in the Book of Leviticus was instituted at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem after the Exile, that the people were weaned away from the polytheistic cults to the acknowledgement of the one supreme, universal, ethical Creator.

It is difficult to believe that sacrifice was not practised at all in pre-exilic times, for such a religion would be inconceivable to the Semitic mind (*Hos.* iii. 4; viii. 13). Moreover, Samuel, David, and Elijah are represented as performing sacrificial rites, and while this would naturally be interpreted as a later gloss upon the original narratives, it is significant that none of these heroes had a right to exercise priestly functions according to the Levitical code. It would therefore seem highly probable that the traditions go back to an earlier period. Jeremiah, it is true, denies the Mosaic origin of the rites (*Jer.* vii. 22), but if Moses did not institute them, he probably tolerated their continuance and he may have incorporated them into Yahweh worship.

Upon the settlement of the tribes in Palestine, however, the situation was very materially changed. At once the mono-Yahwists were confronted with the local sanctuaries and high places with their age-long associations with unedifying Semitic cults and beliefs. To make terms with the local *baalim* meant disaster to the ethical ideals of the great religious leaders. The Carmel incident suggests that the mono-Yahwists, while condemning the ancient shrines, continued a sacrificial approach to the Most High, but at length they found, as in the mediaeval Church, the impossibility of dissociating ancient sacred places and their rites from their original significance. At last they recognized that if Yahweh was worshipped like the *baalim*, the tendency would be to regard Him as a Semitic deity with the character and characteristics of a vegetation god. So the prophets in the eighth century, Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah I, and Jeremiah, proclaim against the institution of sacrifice and the attendant practices in no uncertain terms (*Amos* v. 21; *Hos.* ii. 11; *Isa.* i. 13). Then came the Exile, and with it a complete break in the national tradition.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH

With the return from Babylonia, a new conception of worship and the relation of Yahweh to His people arose, though in a sense it was a natural development of what had gone before. The old sanctuaries may not have had quite the same attraction for the new generation, for the chastening experiences through which the nation passed as they wept by the waters of Babylon and yearned for Zion, effected what the drastic reforming measures of Josiah and Hezekiah failed to accomplish. Furthermore, the conception of Yahweh underwent a fundamental change during these years of captivity. Hitherto He had been regarded as the great national Deity controlling for good the destinies of His chosen nation, Israel. But this notion must have been extremely difficult to reconcile with the anomaly of Zion lying in ruins and Judah remaining in captivity while Babylonia flourished. It may have been as a result of questionings which could hardly fail to arise under these circumstances, that the unknown author of Isaiah xl–lv (commonly called the Deutero-Isaiah) strove to convince the people that actually Yahweh was the only God, 'Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand, and meted out heaven with the span' (*Isa.* xl. 12). This explicit monotheism was implicit in the teaching of the earlier prophets (*Amos* ix. 7; *Isa.* v. 5; xxviii. 23), but the Second Isaiah was the first to proclaim explicitly and controversially the doctrine of Yahweh as the omnipotent Lord of all the earth as well as the Shepherd of His people, in comparison with Whom the gods of the surrounding nations were but idols (*Isa.* xlv. 6, 7; lv. 7). It was, of course, from this notion of Yahweh's universal sovereignty that he developed his conception of the Ideal Suffering Servant, and Israel's mission to the world (*Isa.* xlii. 1, 6; liii).

When the victories of Cyrus failed to bring about the restoration of Israel, as the prophet expected (xlvii), he was led to the formulation of the doctrine of the *Ideal Servant* who would accomplish through much suffering the mission entrusted to the nation (liii), a prophecy which our Lord identified with Himself (*S. Mark* x. 42–45; *S. Luke* iv. 18).[1] Primarily, however, it referred to Israel as a nation passing

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[1] cf. A. E. J. Rawlinson, *The Gospel according to S. Mark* (London, 1926), p. 255; F. D. V. Narborough in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation* (London, 1928), p. 30.

Collection Of Late Abdul Haq Burg Srinagar.

through the sufferings of the Exile—an Israel within Israel, having a mission first to the nation, and then to the whole world. The prophet's hope, however, was never realized in post-exilic Israel because the people sought revenge on Babylonia (*Ps.* cxxxvii) and the neighbouring nations (cf. *Obadiah*), and developed an exclusiveness and ritual holiness which militated against the notion of their world-wide mission (*Ezra* ix. 12; *Neh.* xiii. 23 ff.).

POST-EXILIC ISRAEL

Once the people had returned to Palestine, the more practical policy conceived by Ezekiel during the Exile to establish the kingdom at once proved more attractive than the higher ideal of the Deutero-Isaiah, especially as the promises about the restoration had not been fulfilled exactly as had been expected. Under the circumstances it was necessary to tighten the outward observances of Judaism to consolidate the nation. Thus Trito-Isaiah, as the post-exilic author of chapters lvi–lxvi of this composite book is called, represented Jerusalem as the centre of the universe whither all nations and kings would come (lx, lxvi. 1–8). Psalm lxxxvii is an echo of the same conception, and the Book of Jonah shows that Yahweh's compassion is extended to the heathen city of Nineveh. If the Book of Ruth was re-edited in post-exilic times, as many think, it probably represents a protest against the narrow attitude towards mixed marriages advocated earlier by Nehemiah, since the Moabitess is described as a Mother in Israel (cf. *Mal.* ii. 14). In short, throughout the post-exilic literature there is a blending of the universal and national claims of Israel, finding their inspiration in the world-wide jurisdiction of Yahweh as the only God of all the earth. With the powerful aid of the Priestly school, and its insistence on the strict outward observances of the ordinances of the Law, and the elaborate sacrificial system at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, monotheism became more and more established, so that by the second century B.C. the mono-Yahwist minority had transformed the whole nation into the worshippers of the one supreme God, Creator and Sovereign of the world.

Whether any attempt was made before the Exile to establish the worship of Yahweh at a central sanctuary in Jerusalem it is impossible to determine until the date of Deuteronomy is decided. But in any case it was not until the rise of the sacrificial worship and ceremonial observance in post-exilic times that the people were weaned away from the polytheistic cults to the acknowledgement of Yahweh as the one and only God Who hears the cry of sinful man, and is worthy of the worship of His creatures. It was then that ethical ideals and objective worship found their place in Him alone, and the people as a whole were led to look towards a time when His world of moral order should be established in a new heaven and a new earth wherein righteousness prevailed. With the exception of Samaria, outside Jerusalem henceforth no sacrifice was offered to any rival deity, and the ritual was so regulated and organized as to prevent a recurrence of the former 'abominations.' The struggling new state with its meagre temple may have been a poor substitute for the greatness and the glory that the nation enjoyed under David and Solomon, but in it Yahweh was worshipped in the beauty of holiness, and hope predicted that its former prosperity would be restored (*Hag.* ii. 9 ; *Zech.* iii. 8–iv. 14 ; *Joel* iii. 21).

THE WISDOM LITERATURE

A new intellectual movement made its way in Judaism about 200 B.C. and later as Hellenic influences moulded Jewish life. It was at this time that a Jewish philosophy concerning the problems of human life developed in what is called the 'Wisdom literature' (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Psalms i, xxxvii, xlix, l, lxxiii, cxii, cf. xviii. 20–26 ; Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon, and certain isolated passages such as Baruch iii. 9–37), and its golden age came to be associated with the name of Solomon. Wise men certainly existed in pre-exilic Israel (*Jer.* xviii. 18), but it was not until this later period that the spirit of Yahweh was correlated with Divine wisdom. In Proverbs viii. 22–31 the magnificent praise of wisdom culminates in something very like personality being assigned to this Divine attribute: 'The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.'

In the Book of Job the problem of the suffering of the righteous is reviewed in the setting of an ancient saga comparable to a Babylonian story found on seventh-century cuneiform tablets. The writer, however, like the author of Psalm lxxiii, did not arrive at a satisfactory solution of his real difficulties, but he ultimately found a renewal of his faith in the eternal purposes of Yahweh. Furthermore, if belief in a life after death cannot legitimately be deducted from such passages as Job xix. 25–27, at least there is the expression of a hope of vindication hereafter. Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, ends on a pessimistic note of despair, comparable only to the gloomy Babylonian conception of life coming to an end in a subterranean cul-de-sac in the land of No-return. Ben-Sirach in Ecclesiasticus concludes that the only wise manner of life is that lived on earth in accordance with the commandments of God, the hope of immortality being confined, in his opinion, to the memory of those who beheld his life of wisdom and righteousness.

THE APOCALYPSES

In the Maccabaean age a special type of eschatological literature suddenly grew up in Palestine and continued into the Christian era, describing in cataclysmic language the coming end of the epoch. Since their return from the Exile in 538 B.C. the Jews had been looking for the time when the former glory of their land and its capital should be restored, though it was not until the rise of the apocalyptic school in the Maccabaean age that a dualistic conception of two ages prevailed—the present age of oppression being but the prelude to the establishment of a new era through a sudden Divine catastrophic intervention. But long before this the expectation of the coming of the Divine sovereignty was a prominent feature in Hebrew thought, the prophet Zephaniah, before the Exile, conceiving the notion of a General Assize which would inaugurate a new Golden Age, and make Israel 'a name and a praise among all people of the earth' (*Zeph.* iii. 16 ff.).

When the nation returned to the land after the captivity, it set to work to restore the former prosperity enjoyed under David, and to realize the vision of Ezekiel of a New Jerusalem in which it saw the hope of a new age for Israel (*Ezek.* xxxiii. 31 f.) with the Temple filled with the glory of God (xliv. 1–4). Similarly in the fourth century B.C., after the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra, the prophet Joel called the priests to proclaim a national mission of repentance and hope in preparation for the approaching Day of Yahweh, which was about to come 'as a devastation from the Devastating One' (*Joel* i. 13–20). Already a great and irresistible army of locusts had collected on the mountains (ii. 1–11) in which he discerned a sign of the end of all things: 'The earth quaketh before them, the heavens tremble, the sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars withdraw their shining, and the Lord uttereth His voice before His army; for His camp is very great and very terrible; and who can abide it?' The calamity, however, was averted, for Yahweh heard the prayers of the priests and the people as they wept between the porch and the altar. The plagues were removed, and in the renewal of fertility and prosperity the prophet saw a picture of the restoration of Israel. 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh,' and having shown 'wonders in the heaven and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke,' at length 'the mountains shall drop down sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the brooks of Judah shall flow with waters; and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittim' (ii. 28 ff.).

While Persia reigned supreme Israel enjoyed comparative quiet under the strong hand of Darius (*Zech.* i–viii), but the conquests of Alexander the Great created a new situation in

Palestine, a glimpse of which we see in the last six chapters of Zechariah, where the rivalries of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids are figured as 'Egypt' and 'Assyria.' Here we are in a definitely apocalyptic atmosphere. The Day of the Lord is coming when all nations will be gathered against Jerusalem, and Yahweh Himself will go forth and fight against them to usher in the Golden Age. The oppressors will be overthrown, or else they will acknowledge His lordship, and every common thing will be holy as consecrated to Him. In chapters xxiv–xxvii of the composite Book of Isaiah, which were apparently written about this time, a vindictive power is said to have 'turned the earth upside down'; there was a crying in the streets, all joy was darkened, and the mirth of the land had gone. Then came deliverance in which the writer recognized a sign of the ultimate victorious reign of Yahweh when all His enemies have been subdued. In Zion 'the Lord of hosts will make unto all peoples a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' Then tears will be wiped away from off all faces, and the faithful dead will arise with their bodies.

This imagery reaches its full development in the Book of Daniel, which was written during the Maccabaean revolt. In the vision in Shushan the palace Alexander the Great is represented as the great horn of a ram, while Antiochus Epiphanes, whose attack on the religion of Israel was the occasion of the rising, appears as the 'little horn' (viii. 2 ff.). The Temple is desecrated and the daily sacrifices made to cease for two thousand three hundred days, but at length comes deliverance, the apocalypse ending with a vision of the future when Michael, the great prince, shall stand up in a day of great and unparalleled calamity. Then the faithful will be rewarded with life eternal, but some will suffer everlasting shame and contempt (xii).

In this book the figure of 'one like unto a son of man' who 'came with the clouds of heaven,' is introduced as the symbolic representation of Israel—'the people of the saints of the Most High' (vii. 13 ff.). In the later Jewish apoca-

Collection Of Late Abdul Haq Burg Srinagar.

lypses, such as the Book of Enoch, and the part of that book called the Similitudes, this imagery is brought into line with the prophetic conception of the Messianic kingdom. The Son of Man is then interpreted as a celestial quasi-angelic Being appointed as the Agent of God to judge the world and usher in the New Age when he comes with the clouds (*Ethiopic Enoch* xlvi. 1 ff.; xlviii. 2 ff.; lii. 4; lxix. 26 ff.; 2 *Esdras* xiii). Twice he is called 'the Anointed' (*Enoch* xlviii. 10; lii. 4), and while the Son of Man tradition seems to have been distinct from that of the earlier and more generalized Messianic hope, Dr. Sanday is undoubtedly right in saying that 'from the time of the Maccabees to the time of Barcochba there was a Messianic background—or something like it—to every popular movement that swept over Palestine.'

MESSIANIC IDEAS

The days were evil, and the old hope of a deliverer recurred as disaster after disaster befell the luckless Jews. In the apocalypses the 'expectations for the future became more and more transcendent,' shifting increasingly to the realm of the supernatural and the supramundane. Nothing short of a tremendous Divine intervention, it was felt, could bring relief, and so the anticipations of a successor of David who would 'raise up the tribes of Jacob, and restore the preserved of Israel,' tended in apocalyptic circles to take over a catastrophic guise. It was then assumed that the earth was so corrupt that it was wholly unfit for the manifestation of the kingdom, and consequently these writers picture the establishment of the New Era as entailing the destruction of the existing order.

Nevertheless, if the older conception became obscured in the period immediately preceding the advent of our Lord, it had by no means entirely disappeared. The original Messianic tradition still held the allegiance of the orthodox school, and at the close of the reign of Herod the Great, an Idumaean adventurer whose atrocious despotism made the yoke of Rome very grievous to the Jews, a new Messianic movement was instigated by the Pharisees in the hope that the prophecy of the Third Isaiah (lvi. 3–5) would be fulfilled in the son of Bagoas. The division of the land among the sons of Herod —Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip—destroyed the external resemblance to the empire of David, and again the hope of a Divine supernatural intervention which would bring about the collapse of all human kingdoms was revived. This expectation doubtless increased under the extortionate and oppressive government of Herod in Galilee, and of Pilate in Judaea, so that the time was ripe for 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness, make ye ready the way of the Lord' (*S. Mark* i. 3).

REVELATION

If the application of the scientific method to the study of the Old Testament has dispelled the theory that all the books of the Bible and every statement in them are all equally and verbally inspired, it has brought into prominent relief the unique character of the religion of Israel as a progressive self-revelation of God to a Peculiar People, who were being prepared for the complete revelation in the Person of Jesus Christ. It is no longer possible to draw sharp distinctions between the 'superstitious beliefs of the heathen,' and 'the truths which have come down to us from heaven' in theologies revealed whole and entire to the first representatives of the human race, and preserved among the Jews through a series of Divine interventions impelling the Biblical writers 'to commit to writing faithfully, and render in exact language, with infallible truth, all that God commanded and nothing else.'[1] But the Old Testament exhibits the way in which God dealt with a people whose leaders were ready to accept the revelation He disclosed to them, as a father teaches his children, supplementing those religious ideas which were the result of their racial affinities and contact with Semitic cults, by purer and loftier spiritual conceptions, so that by the time the last book was admitted into the Canon, the Jews had reached a stage of religious development that fully justified the Psalmist's assertion, 'He hath not dealt so with any nation.'

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[1] *Council. Vatic.* Sess. III, Const. dogm. de fide, cap. II.

As we have already pointed out, feelings, purpose, and values make up the human consciousness in addition to sense-impressions, and it seems that from the beginning man has been aware of the supra-rational. At first, doubtless, the religious emotion—the *mysterium tremendum*—called forth by the sense of mystery and awe, was very undefined. This religious apprehension of God, neither ethical nor rational, which Otto calls the 'numinous' (*das Numinose*),[1] is ultimate in its own sphere, and finds expression in all genuine religion.

> 'We call the source of growth,' he says, 'a "hidden" predisposition of the human spirit, which awakens when aroused by divers excitations. That there are "predispositions" of this sort in individuals no one can deny who has given serious study to the history of religion. They are seen as propensities, "predestining" the individual to religion, and they may grow spontaneously to quasi-instinctive presentiments, uneasy seeking and groping, yearning and longing, and become a religious *impulsion*, that only finds peace when it has become clear to itself and attained its goal. . . . The *predisposition* which the human reason brought with it when the species Man entered history became long ago, not merely for individuals but for the species as a whole, a *religious impulsion*, to which incitements from without and pressure from within the mind both contributed. It begins in undirected, groping emotion, a seeking and shaping of representations, and goes on, by a continual onward striving, to generate ideas, till its nature is self-illumined and made clear by an explication of the obscure *a priori* foundation of thought itself, out of which it originated.'

The numinous is supra-rational because it is 'the given.' Man has become aware of a Transcendent Reality which is also immanent in the world, 'super-historical' and eternal, inexplicable in natural terms since it belongs to an 'otherness' above and beyond the concrete universe of time and space. In its earliest manifestations this concept of the Absolute became rationalized in terms of spirit, totems, ancestors, gods many and lords many, expressed very often in elaborate mythologies and complex rituals. But in its higher apprehensions it has called forth the noblest virtues, and loftiest aspirations of the human spirit.

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[1] *The Idea of the Holy* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 5 f.

In addition to an animistic and polytheistic interpretation of Nature, in almost every state of culture a special kind of religious thought and emotion finds expression in the notion of a nebulous ethical Supreme Being, or All-Father, whose abode is in the sky, remote from human affairs. This belief is certainly not the product of philosophical thinking, nor the triumph of the unifying principle over the disruptive, of abstract over concrete thought. It is the functioning of an emotion rather than the elaboration of a certain kind of knowledge about the universe. Hence the recurrence of monotheism in all states of culture and in every stage of religious development. Furthermore, the concept of the benevolent, external Creator seems to represent the climax of religious thought and aspiration, since although primitive people seldom have any relations with the All-Father, they attach to him a value superior to that of other supernatural beings.

That this apprehension of the Divine in the highest sense possible for the human mind at any given phase of its evolution arose spontaneously is suggested by the fact that when man did begin to speculate about the universe in later times, he was invariably led to find a solution of his reasonings in animism, totemism, and polytheism. Spirits and totems became individualized as gods, heroes were raised to divine rank as ancestral and tribal deities, and natural phenomena brought into relation with the pantheon, as in the Vedic cult where Veruna was the god of the open sky, Indra of the upper air, Ushas of the dawn. Polytheism may have evolved out of animism in many cases, as Frazer suggests,[1] but there is no adequate reason to think that in due course the many gods were deposed in favour of one, as polytheism passed into monotheism. On the contrary, the multiplication of departmental deities tended to obscure the High God, till at length he disappeared unless he was amalgamated with the lesser gods, or, if he survived, he degenerated into a bogy to frighten women and children, as among tribes like the Arunta in Central Australia.[1] The belief in a Supreme Being, in short, represents a psychological tendency rather than a stage in an evolutionary system ; it is the climax of primitive religious thought, the emotional response to, and highest evaluation of, the *mysterium tremendum* in the intuitive realization of a Power, awful and mysterious, behind the visible order.

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[1] *The Worship of Nature* (London, 1926), vol. i, pp. 9 f.

MONOTHEISM IN ISRAEL

The unique achievement in Israel was the ability of a few individuals with this special kind of religious temperament to develop the concept of an ethical Deity in such a way that, at least from the time of the Exile, He was regarded as the righteous Ruler of the universe, the one creative and sustaining, omniscient and omnipotent will behind all phenomena, Whose law is holy, and Whose power is infinite. That this was mainly due to the Hebrew prophets cannot be denied, yet they never represented themselves as the originators of a new religion, but rather as reformers, reclaiming the people from the depths into which they had fallen. Yahweh, Whom they had forsaken, was the God of the patriarchs, of Moses, Elijah, and David, Who had led His people through the wilderness and established them in the land of their adoption. Thus they presupposed that a revelation had already been given to Israel.

If what we have said above concerning the historical character of the heroes of Israel be accepted, it seems highly probable that the foundations of the Yahweh religion belong to this formative period in the history of the nation. We have pointed out the occurrence of the forms *Ya*, *Yau* in the records of the first dynasty of Babylon, and we know that it was about this time that Marduk, the personification of the sun and the early city god of Babylon, absorbed the attributes of the other gods of the pantheon.[1] Therefore it would appear that henotheism, or the recognition of one god as 'a great king above all gods,' flourished in Babylonia about the time that Abraham is alleged to have taken up his abode at Ur of the Chaldees. The cause of the family migration to Haran could be explained on the hypothesis that Hammurabi (possibly the Amraphel of Genesis xiv) had substituted the worship of Shamash at Ur for that of Sin, the moon-god, and thereby caused the adherents of the old religion to move to the northern sanctuary of their god at Haran. The two forms of the name Abram which occur on the cuneiform tablets of this period suggest that possibly it has some connection with the attributes of Sin, and in that case the supposition is confirmed that the patriarch was originally a worshipper of the moon-god. But the expression *Yau-ilu*, 'Jah is God,' has also been found in the text of a letter. The term *Yau* (derived originally from an Amorite deity) was used to designate the Supreme God, but only in special cases, as in the tablet identifying Marduk (*ilu*) with all the other deities. Abram may therefore have been among those who realized that the gods popularly worshipped could really only be manifestations of the one Supreme Deity, but instead of identifying Him with Marduk, he may have employed the Babylonian word *Yau* which ultimately became the Hebrew Yahweh.

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[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), p. 338.

In some such way as this, it seems to the present writer, we have to account for the traditional fact that Moses made his appeal to the God of the patriarchs,[2] Whom he claimed had appeared to him with a new message and revelation for His oppressed slaves. All the documents agree in making Moses the virtual founder of the Yahweh religion in the desert, and the circumstances attending the revelation which he is said to have received at Sinai are such as would suggest a numinous experience calculated to call forth spiritual insight, and the highest religious concepts. Sinai, 'the Mount of God,' was an ancient sanctuary which probably derived its name from the Babylonian moon-god Sin, whose connections with Abram and Yahweh we have considered above. The revelation to Moses is represented as having been given amid the awe-inspiring phenomena of thunder, lightning, and the storm (*Exod.* xix. 16 ff.), which are the very events usually associated with the All-Father cult among primitive people, thunder invariably being regarded as the voice of the High God.[1] Therefore an experience of this nature in an ancient sanctuary could hardly fail to arouse a deep sense of the *mysterium tremendum* in a religiously-minded person like Moses, and the phenomenon was such as a desert tribe would react to very readily. That it made a lasting impression on the folk-memory of Israel is clear from the numerous references to it in the Old Testament (*Deut.* iv. 1 ff.; *Num.* xi. 1–3; *Ps.* xxix; lxxxvii. 17, 19; *Jer.* x. 13; *Amos* i. 2; *Isa* xxx. 30; *Joel* ii. 11; iii. 16).

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[1] Jastrow, *Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1911), pp. 100 ff.

[2] cf. p. 39.

Now if only certain tribes went down into Egypt, as seems probable,[2] the name of the God of their fathers may have been forgotten in Palestine, but Moses having married into the Kenites (*Exod.* ii. 21) very likely became acquainted with Yahweh during his sojourn in Midian, though opinion is much divided on the question of his having derived his religion in the first instance from Jethro (cf. *Exod.* xviii. 5–12). There is no evidence that the God of the oppressed clans was also the God of the Kenites, but, nevertheless, the tribe of Judah, like the Rechabites (another desert people) had affinities with North Arabian tribes (Kenites, etc.), and both were staunch Yahweh worshippers and champions of the Mosaic religion (2 *Kings* x. 15 ff.; *Jer.* xxv. 6 ff.; *Judges* i. 16; iv. 11; *Num* x. 29 ff.; 1 *Sam.* xv. 6; xxvii. 10; xxx. 29). It is possible, therefore, that Moses may have been acquainted with a primitive conception of monotheism, connected perhaps with the Sinaitic sanctuary and the name *Yau*, before he gave to Yahweh an entirely new meaning and significance for the people whom he felt called to lead. But however he discovered the Divine Name, it seems highly probable that it was he who first declared to the Hebrews the doctrine of God as a mighty deliverer, ruler, and sustainer of His people, as a result of his own numinous experiences. Viewed in this way it is still true to say that God spake by Moses.

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[1] cf. Haddon, *The Study of Man* (London, 1898), pp. 327 ff.; Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia* (London, 1904), p. 629.

[2] cf. Burney, *Book of Judges* (London, 1918), pp. 243 f.

Again, our hypothesis throws some light on the fact that the Northern Kingdom was more infected with polytheism than was Judah, and gives a reason for the persecution of a section of the Yahweh worshippers in the days of Ahab (1 *Kings* xviii. 4 ; xix. 10–14 ; 2 *Kings* ix. 7), while the four hundred prophets escaped attack (1 *Kings* xxii. 6). If the tribes which remained in Palestine uninterruptedly from the time of the original migration in the third millenium B.C. were worshippers of Yahweh (*Yau*) as an agricultural deity, as Burney suggests,[1] it seems that there were virtually two religions in Israel which found a common centre in Yahweh —the religion of the desert tribes under the influence of Moses, and the religion of the agricultural community. This no doubt explains the attitude of the Rechabites and the Nazarites towards the agricultural Canaanite culture, fearing the loss of their lofty ideals through contamination by local vegetation cults. Both sections recognized Yahweh as supreme, it is true, but those who regarded Him as enshrined at Shiloh or Bethel readily assimilated the original Semitic cults that still survived, and the worship of Melkart, the Tyrian Baal, was popularized through the influence of Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, King of Tyre and priest of Astarte (1 *Kings* xvi. 31 ff. ; xviii. 19 ff.). A destructive drought appears to have precipitated a crisis, and after the decisive mono-Yahwist victory on Mount Carmel, Elijah retired to the cave at Horeb (Sinai) to receive a new revelation at the original sanctuary (1 *Kings* xviii; xix. 8 f.). Like Moses before him, he stood on a cleft of the rock, and amid the awe-inspiring phenomena of hurricane, earth-quake, and fire, he was the recipient of a self-disclosure vouchsafed this time as it seemed in the hushed whisper of the human voice.

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[1] *Book of Judges*, pp. 249 ff. ; *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* (London, 1921), pp. 55 ff.

There is no reason to think, as Renan imagined, that the Semites had a special racial tendency to monotheism, since all we know of their cult is essentially animistic and polytheistic in character. Moreover, even in Israel, whenever the people were left to themselves they speedily relapsed into this type of religion. The final triumph of ethical monotheism was due entirely to the unceasing efforts of a mono-Yahwist minority of deeply religious men who by their own spiritual experiences and insight forced their convictions on an often reluctant nation. They spoke that they did know and testified that they had seen and heard. The message of each bears the stamp of originality, of opposition to contemporary thought, of a Word of God finding expression through the human instrument. As Dr. Gore has said, here we seem to have 'a downrush from the super-conscious,' rather than an 'uprush from the subconscious.'[1] In other words, a definite revelation from God to man independent of human reflection and discovery.[2]

After the Exile this self-disclosure became clearer when Yahweh was regarded more definitely and exclusively as the One God, ethical, benevolent, the sole Creator and Controller of the universe. While this theology only found explicit expression at a comparatively late period, it was undoubtedly implicit in the exclusive claim to allegiance which Yahweh made upon His worshippers from the beginning. Moreover, He was represented by the prophets as a moral Deity, Who demanded the same characteristics from His people. Notwithstanding the many primitive Semitic doctrines and practices condoned and sometimes encouraged in Israel, the religious standard was always on the whole higher than that of the surrounding nations. Legend may be inextricably blended with history, and actions revealing defective morality are of frequent occurrence in the Old significance for the people whom he felt called to lead. But however he discovered the Divine Name, it seems highly probable that it was he who first declared to the Hebrews the doctrine of God as a mighty deliverer, ruler, and sustainer of His people, as a result of his own numinous experiences. Viewed in this way it is still true to say that God spake by Moses.

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[1] *Belief in God* (London, 1921), p. 106.

[2] cf. Hamilton, *The People of God* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 75 ff.

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Testament narratives, but a conception of man's relationship to God and his neighbour has been preserved and handed down in its literature which has commended itself to the human conscience in all subsequent ages, and which virtually constitutes the basis for the moral and spiritual progress achieved by Christianity. It is just this permanent contribution to the religious and social thought of the civilized world that is brought out so clearly by the scientific study of the Old Testament.

Again, modern scholarship has shown that it was in Israel that a profound belief was fostered of God's overruling guidance of historical events in accordance with His eternal purposes. Thus, in contrast to the religion of the surrounding nations, a progressive revelation can be discerned in Israel, a continual upward development in the knowledge of God, from very lowly ideas of a covenant between the nation and its tribal deity, to the lofty prophetic and Messianic expectations which found completion in Christ as the Ideal Suffering Servant, at once Son of God and Saviour of mankind, and His mystical body, the Church, filling up that which was lacking in the apocalyptic kingdom of the King-Messiah ; from crude and imperfect notions of holiness, to a type of character which is not essentially changed but only invested with supreme lustre and power in the sinless holiness of Jesus Christ ; from imperfect tribal aspirations to the realization of the perfect union with God established through the tabernacling of the Divine Logos among men in His Church. Thus the acknowledgement of the One Creator, Supreme, Universal, and Ethical, culminated in the divine disclosure to Israel, and through Israel to the world, of the self-giving of the Eternal Son, at once God and Man.

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may have been also the companion of S. Peter in his travels, in which case his attempt to set forth Jesus as the Son of God (*S. Mark* i. 11; iii. 11; v. 7; xiii. 32; xv. 39) was ultimately inspired by memories of what our Lord actually said and did. Older than S. Mark there is a document, commonly called Q (from the German, *Quelle*, a source), which was less biographical and more of a record of our Lord's teaching. This manuscript was employed by both the First and Third Evangelists in the composition of their Gospels, and it appears to have been a production of the primitive Palestinian Church.[1]

The Third Gospel, which is part of the same work as the Acts, is now generally regarded by the more cautious critics as the work of the physician Luke, also the companion of S. Paul, who addressed himself to the Gentile Theophilus, probably between A.D. 80 and 85, though some scholars would place it as early as A.D. 64.[2] Dr. Streeter has recently suggested that an original 'Proto-Luke' document forms the basis of the Gospel, consisting of a collection of non-Marcan material current in Palestine in very early days—'a kind of half-way house between Collections of Sayings, like Q, and the biographical type of Gospel of which Mark was the originator.'[3] Its sections are S. Luke iii–iv. 30; v. 1–11 (call of S. Peter); vi. 12–19 (call of the twelve); vi. 20–viii. 3; ix. 51–xviii. 14; and the greater part of the Passion and Resurrection narratives.

THE FOUR DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS

Hitherto it has been generally supposed that the First and Third Evangelists based their narratives substantially upon the Marcan material, making large additions from their own resources, drawn mainly from Q. Thus the non-Marcan matter in Luke has been analysed into Q, and the writer's own material obtained from a variety of sources (L). It is now urged by Streeter that Mark was the earliest of the written Gospels, but that S. Luke had written his narrative based on Q and L years before he encountered Mark. He thereupon incorporated large extracts from the Marcan material into his own account. Similarly, the First Gospel, which was written rather later, probably some time between A.D. 80 and 100,[1] was composed from numerous sources, including S. Matthew's own material (M) collected with a view to setting forth Jesus as the true Messiah and Lord of the New Israel, and supplemented from S. Mark and Q.

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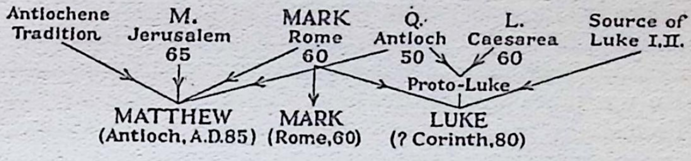
[1] cf. *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem.* Edited by W. Sanday. (Oxford, 1911.)

[2] E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christenthums* (Stuttgart, 1921), vol. i, p. 51.

[3] Streeter, op. cit., p. 214; Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel* (Oxford, 1926).

This 'four document hypothesis,' while open to objections, unquestionably broadens the basis of the evidence for the authentic teaching of Christ, since behind the First and Third Gospels are the traditions of the Churches of Antioch (Q) about A.D. 50, Rome (Mark) about A.D. 60, Caesarea (L) about A.D. 60, and Jerusalem (M) about A.D. 65. This may be represented in tabular form as follows :[2]



Thus, for instance, the account of the Last Supper as given in S. Luke is much longer than the Marcan narrative and includes features unrecorded by the Second Evangelist apart from the alleged 'Western non-interpolation' (xxii. 19, 20). It may well have been that S. Luke visited Palestine and gathered what information he could find at Caesarea and elsewhere at a very early period, subsequently writing it all up with the help of Q and the Marcan Gospel. This would explain the Lukan narrative describing the meal as the Passover, and at the same time stating that our Lord will not eat of the Passover until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God (xxii. 7 ff., 18). Here the Marcan tradition of the Last Supper being actually the Paschal Feast, seems to have been combined with a non-Marcan source in which the Supper was not so regarded. Similarly, the reference to two cups in the present narrative (xxii. 17, 20) suggests that the account of the event was derived from several sources.[1] It may be that the Marcan saying, 'This is My Body' (19*a*) was incorporated after the original version had been written, and the rest of the passage (19*b*–20) added still later by another scribe to bring the story more into line with 1 Corinthians xi. 24 f.

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[1] C. H. Turner, *J.T.S.*, vol. x, p. 172.

[2] Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 150.

'Theologically speaking, Proto-Luke is a book of beginnings, a link between the teaching of Christ and the theology of S. Paul and the Fourth Evangelist.'[2] It is therefore very significant to find in it a narrative of the institution of the Eucharist, and the appellations, 'the Christ,' and 'the Son of God' attributed to our Lord fifteen times. He is represented as the anointed of God in the story of His baptism, and in fact throughout He is the Christ from heaven, unique in kind among men, Who in filial obedience has come to live as Man a life of perfect humility and love, exercising a ministry of grace and dying a sacrificial death from which He was raised in glory by God. This is the theology of Proto-Luke, as well as of S. Paul and the Fourth Gospel, and it is corroborated by the Marcan narrative, and the later account of the First Evangelist.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

As the Gentile converts increased, the Church lost, in great measure, its respect for Judaism, though it never ceased to regard itself as the New Israel.[3] Greek ideas and phraseology begin to appear in the Fourth Gospel, written in the Hellenic atmosphere of the Ephesian Church somewhere about the beginning of the second century.[1] The vexed question of authorship still awaits solution. The son of Zebedee, though abandoned by the majority of scholars, is still championed by Dr. Gore and others,[2] and it seems to be the view maintained in the appendix written by a later scribe, where the writer is identified as 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (*S. John* xxi. 20). If, as many think, the real author was John the Presbyter, it is conceivable that the two Johns were confused in the second century, and the book attributed to the son of Zebedee. The late Dr. Estlin Carpenter, on the other hand, maintained that it is the work of a group of theologians presided over by an elder named John.[3] In any case the writer (or writers) seems to have had an intimate acquaintance with Palestine and Judaism in the time of our Lord, and while Dr. Burney's attempt to show that his narrative was originally written in Aramaic[4] is not very convincing, it may be, as Professor Hodgson suggests, that his native language was Aramaic though he wrote in Greek.[5]

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[1] Taylor, op. cit., pp. 36 ff. [2] ibid., op. cit., p. 273.

[3] S. Ignatius, *Philad.* vi.

But, whoever was its author, the Fourth Gospel must have been written between A.D. 90 and 120, and it unquestionably reflects the thought and belief of this time.[6] Yet while there is unmistakable evidence of a Hellenic strain in the narratives, the appeal is to the Jewish Scriptures and the Synoptists, interpreted in terms familiar to the semi-Greek, semi-Oriental population of Asia Minor. The Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, for instance, are taken for granted, the Pauline theology being merely elaborated in mystical language (*S. John* iii. 5 ; vi. 41 ff.). The writer's purpose being theological rather than biographical, he makes no attempt to reproduce the actual words of our Lord, and omits many of the incidents recorded elsewhere, selecting episodes illustrating the lessons he desires to teach (*S. John* xx. 30 f.).

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[1] J. H. Bernard, *Gospel According to S. John* (I.C.C., Edinburgh, 1928); cf. J. E. Carpenter, *The Johannine Writings* (London, 1927), pp. 413 ff.

[2] *Belief in Christ* (London, 1922), p. 106; L. Hodgson, *And was made Man* (London, 1928), p. 182.

[3] op. cit., pp. 226, 250.

[4] *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford, 1922).

[5] Hodgson, op. cit., p. 176.

[6] A.D. 95 seems to be the nearest approximation to a precise date obtainable at present. cf. Bernard, op. cit., p. lxxviii.

Starting, it would seem, with the conception of the Logos as elaborated by the Stoics and Philo as being more in accord with the Gentile thought of the period than the Jewish Messianic hopes, the author explains the Incarnation metaphysically instead of historically (i. 1–14). The Life embodying the indwelling principle of the Word having been made Flesh, a new religion imparting spiritual life is launched through the little group of disciples (ii. 1–iv. 42). Then follows a long controversy between Christ and the Jews (v–xii) in which possibly there is an echo of a discussion between the Church and the Synagogue, till at last the breach becomes complete. The Greeks who came to see our Lord would seem to represent the opening of the door of the Church to the Gentiles (xii. 20, 32). For a while the Master and the disciples are alone (xiii–xviii) preparing for the crisis when the powers of darkness will prevail (xviii, xix) for a season before the light blazes forth in all its Easter glory (xx). Throughout, it is the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels Who is portrayed, and—paradoxical as it may seem to many scholars—Professor Hodgson's recent attempt to maintain that the Fourth Gospel emphasizes the humanity rather than, as is generally supposed, the Deity of Christ,[1] calls attention to the fact that throughout the narrative our Lord's dependence on His Father is brought into high relief, as in the Synoptic accounts.

Although the assumption has been questioned by many competent authorities,[2] there can be little doubt that the author was acquainted with the earlier narratives, notably S. Mark.[3] It is now becoming apparent that he also knew S. Luke or Proto-Luke, as such characters as Mary and

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[1] op. cit., pp. 186 f., 198.

[2] H. Windisch, *Zeitschrift N.T. Wiss.* (1911), pp. 174 f.

[3] B. W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 366 ff.

Martha are introduced without previous mention (xi. 1) as though they were well-known figures in the story.[1] It may be, as Taylor suggests, that Proto-Luke and S. John independently reflect common traditions, even if the Fourth Evangelist was acquainted with S. Luke.[2] This would explain their agreement on such points as the date of the Last Supper and the omission of the account of the cleansing of the Temple during the last visit to Jerusalem.

THE ACTS

Passing to the Acts of the Apostles, it is generally admitted that the so-called 'we sections,' in which the first person plural is used (*Acts* xvi. 10–17 ; xx. 5–xxi. 18 ; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16 ; also xi. 28 in the Bezan Text), are by the same hand as the writer of the Third Gospel, who in all probability wrote this travel-diary while he was a prisoner in Rome with S. Paul. Moreover, unless it be supposed that a final editor has deliberately worked over this part of the book to bring it into line with the rest, if language can be taken as a guide at all in determining authorship, the Acts of the Apostles in its present form must be assigned to the Third Evangelist, as the unanimous tradition of the Church asserts. The numerous words and phrases common to these documents but used rarely elsewhere in the New Testament, and the general scheme testify to the same person having written both to form one continuous narrative.

The abrupt ending of Acts may be explained perhaps on the supposition that the author intended to produce a third treatise dealing with the martyrdom of S. Paul and the period of persecution. The work, on the other hand, may have been brought to a close summarily owing to the circumstances of the time, if it were written about A.D. 60 before the Apostle was condemned to death. But this would make the Marcan narrative earlier than is generally admitted. Between A.D. 78 and 80 is in many ways the more satisfactory date for Acts, inasmuch as it places it slightly later than the Gospel and yet before the Epistles had permeated the Church, which accounts for the absence of any apparent acquaintance with them. The supposition that it belongs to the closing years of the first century, based on supposed references to Josephus' *Antiquities* (A.D. 93), can be dismissed as being incongruous with the general character of the book.

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[1] Streeter, op. cit., p. 402 ; Bacon, op. cit., p. 368.

[2] Taylor, op. cit., p. 225.

THE PAULINE EPISTLES

However early Acts and Luke (or even Proto-Luke) may ultimately be placed, it is in the two letters of S. Paul to the Thessalonians that we find the earliest writings of the New Testament. The Apostle reached Thessalonica during his second missionary journey in A.D. 50, and then proceeded to Corinth where he wrote to the Thessalonian converts early in the following year (A.D. 51) on hearing good tidings of their faith and love from Silas and Timotheus (1 *Thess.* iii. 6). The second letter followed speedily.

About this time S. Paul also entered the province of Achaia, and made his way to Athens where he preached 'Jesus and the Resurrection' (*Acts* xvii. 16–22); but failing to make much headway he went on to Corinth, the capital of the Roman province of Achaia (xviii. 1). In this busy trading centre he stayed for eighteen months, and a vigorous Gentile Church was established in the city, which spread to Cenchrea, the port on the east, and to the surrounding district (*Rom.* xvi. 1; 2 *Cor.* i. 1). In the spring of A.D. 52 he left for Jerusalem, and reached Ephesus towards the end of the summer, having passed through 'the upper country'—the high road leading from the Phrygian hills in a westerly direction to the sea. In Ephesus he remained for three years, and it was at the end of his sojourn here that he heard disquieting things about the newly-founded Church at Corinth. In the spring of A.D. 55 (or possibly in the previous year) he wrote to his Corinthian converts exhorting them to mend their ways, both in their private life and in the practice of the Faith. In the first part of the letter he dealt with the charges brought against them, and then passed on (vii–xvi) to the question they had raised in their appeal to him.

It is not improbable that he went to Corinth before he left Ephesus to try to set matters right, but without success. Hence his mention of his unhappy memories of a recent visit to them in his second letter. Those who adopt this view, think that on his return to Ephesus S. Paul sent by Titus a sharp letter to his wayward flock, threatening a third visit, a part of which epistle is preserved in 2 Corinthians x–xiii. This had its effect, and the first nine chapters of the present Second Epistle represent the Apostle's thankfulness at the happy conclusion of the matter.[1] But however the circumstances of the document be explained, its genuineness is not called in question, and the date remains a few months after the First Epistle, probably in the autumn of A.D. 55.

About this time, when S. Paul passed through 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (*Acts* xviii. 23), he discovered that there was trouble in the Churches in Southern Galatia, the Judaizing party from Jerusalem having accused the Apostle of teaching an imperfect Gospel by neglecting the commands of the Mosaic Law. This called forth a vehement letter to his first converts from heathenism vindicating his Apostleship and doctrine, and describing his attitude to S. Peter whom he 'withstood to the face because he was to be blamed.' He then expounded his theme of justification by faith in contrast to justification by the observance of the Jewish Law. Exactly when and where this was written has not been determined, but from its style and contents it would appear to be a rough draft of his letter to the Romans with certain vague resemblances to 2 Corinthians. The most probable suggestion seems to be that it was written at Corinth about A.D. 56.

The great dissertation to the Church in the capital of the Empire is a theological treatise worthy of its destination. Its provenance cannot be definitely determined until the vexed question of the concluding chapter (xvi) has been settled, but in any case it was at the close of the third missionary journey, probably during the winter of A.D. 55–56, that the Apostle wrote to the Romans,[1] though Harnack thinks it was two years earlier.[2] Its genuineness has never been challenged, even by the Tübingen school.

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[1] K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of S. Paul* (London, 1911), pp. 144–175.

COLOSSIANS AND EPHESIANS

The remaining Pauline letters, however, are of more doubtful authenticity. Thus the heresy opposed in Colossians has certain points of contact with second century Gnosticism, and the Christology is in advance of the previous epistles, though more in mode of expression than in theology. This is more apparent in the case of Ephesians, which has been described by Dr. Moffatt as 'a set of variations played by a master hand upon one or two themes suggested by Colossians.'[3] Its literary relations with S. Luke and the Johannine literature, as well as with Colossians, 1 S. Peter, and the Pastorals, he thinks, point to a later date than the time of S. Paul.[4] This is confirmed, it is alleged, by the language and style, to say nothing of the conception of the Church and its organization, and the position assigned to Christ as the Son of God.

Against these considerations, however, must be set the fact that recent research tends to show that while Ephesians is not actually a copy of Colossians, there are so many resemblances in the two letters that it is difficult to believe that they were not written by the same person at the same time to Churches in similar circumstances. If the Colossian heresy had affinities with Oriental cults it also had points of contact with Judaism, while the theology of the Ephesians is a natural development of the doctrine enunciated in Colossians (cf. *Col.* i. 13–23). Moreover, the Ephesian conception of the Church is implicit in the teaching of the first Corinthian letter (cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 27 ; iv. 17 ; xv. 3–11). But if it was really written by S. Paul it can hardly have been addressed to the Ephesians since there is no reference to the Apostle's former visits or any indication of their friendly relations (cf. *Acts* xx. 17–38 ; with *Eph.* i. 15 ; iii. 2). The most satisfactory solution of the problem of its destination, granting its Pauline authorship, is the 'circular letter hypothesis' which regards it as having been sent by S. Paul to the Christians of Laodicea (as Marcon surmised in the second century) during his imprisonment in Rome, A.D. 59–61, on the occasion of Tychicus' journey to Colossae (cf. *Eph.* vi. 20).

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[1] C. H. Turner, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i, p. 423; N. P. Williams, 'Romans' in *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 442.

[2] *Chronologie der altchristl. literatur* (1897), vol. i, pp. 233 f.

[3] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 375.

[4] op. cit., p. 388.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

The Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus) constitute a more serious problem in Pauline authorship, and while their authenticity has been defended by scholars of such eminence as Sir William Ramsay, Dr. Vernon Bartlet, Professor C. H. Turner, Zahn, and Blass, it must be admitted that the general consensus of expert opinion is to regard them as 'much edited fragments' of genuine letters. Thus Dr. P. N. Harrison thinks that Titus iii. 12–15 was written by S. Paul from West Macedonia soon after 2 Corinthians x. 1 ; 2 Timothy iv. 13–15, 20, 21*a* represent his invitation to Timothy to join him at Troas (cf. 2 *Cor.* ii. 12 f.) ; 2 Timothy iv. 16–18*a* was written from Caesarea on arriving there under escort from Jerusalem ; 9–12, 22*b* constitute Timothy's summons to Rome, and 2 Timothy i. 16–18 ; iii. 10 f. ; iv. 1, 2, 5, 6–8, 18*b*, 19, 21*b*, 22*a*, represent the last farewell.[1]

The presence of some genuine material in the letters is almost universally acknowledged, though the Pauline element is less marked in 1 Timothy than in the rest. The language, style, and theological outlook, it is maintained, are against the supposition that in their present form they came direct from the Apostle's pen, while the heresies combated, like the ecclesiastical organization, are more definitely second century in their outlook than in the Colossian, Ephesian, Philemon triad. Furthermore there is no very obvious place for the correspondence in the record of his life. Taken collectively, therefore, these considerations point to their being assigned to the sub-apostolic period.

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[1] P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 93 ff.

The external evidence, on the other hand, is in favour of their genuineness. This is attested by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Ignatius, and Polycarp, and they find a place in the Muratorian Canon, as well as in the Syriac and Old Latin versions. Similarly, their contents reveal knowledge of living persons mentioned by name which a forger would scarcely be expected to introduce, and although the language employed is distinctive, it has certain parallels in other epistles. The vocabulary, however, is the greatest difficulty in the acceptance of the traditional authorship, as it unquestionably bears striking resemblances to that of the Apostolic Fathers, over thirty-six per cent of the words used, as Harrison has shown, being not in any one of the ten genuine Pauline epistles.[1]

Until this has been satisfactorily explained, it seems wise for those whose bias is towards the Pauline authorship to suspend judgement, especially if, as in the case of the present writer, one is not an expert in this intricate department of research. Nevertheless, it may be remarked that if, as is generally supposed by those who favour the traditional view, the Apostle was released after his first trial,[2] the lapse of time before his final imprisonment during the Neronian persecution in A.D. 64 allows for the growth in Church organization which after all is fundamentally the same as that of the earlier epistles,[1] and we cannot be certain that the 'false teaching' referred to was necessarily Gnosticism (1 *Tim.* i. 7; *Titus* i. 14; iii. 9). Therefore, without minimizing the importance of the work of Dr. Harrison, which has unquestionably made it very much more difficult to maintain the traditional position, there is, we feel, still a case for those who support the Pauline authorship, though it would seem to the scientific observer without expert knowledge that, merely as a matter of evidence, the original documents were subjected to some process of editing before they were known to Polycarp in Smyrna, and to Ignatius in Antioch by A.D. 115.

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[1] op. cit., p. 20.

[2] cf. Harnack, *Date of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, p. 103. But Vernon Bartlet believes that S. Paul was martyred at the close of the first imprisonment, the letters being written early in his stay at Rome.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

Passing to the Hebrews, it has long been recognized that the letter was wrongly ascribed to S. Paul in Alexandria in the third century; an error later adopted in the West. Tertullian regarded it as the work of S. Barnabas, while Origen, after defending the Pauline theory, became more cautious, concluding that 'who wrote it God only knows certainly.' It is needless here to enter into a discussion of the various conjectures concerning possible authors which have been made in ancient and modern times. But, whoever may have been the writer, he seems to have completed his treatise before the letter of Clement of Rome was written in A.D. 96, while reference to Timothy (xiii. 23) suggests an earlier date. The general circumstances point to the second generation of the Church as the most likely time (xiii. 2), between A.D. 64 and 70, before the destruction of Jerusalem (x. 25; viii. 13; xiii. 13).

THE SHORTER EPISTLES

Of the shorter epistles, S. James, S. Jude, and 1 S. Peter, there is no general agreement among scholars as to their authorship and date. The so-called Second Epistle of S. Peter can definitely be excluded from the Apostolic literature, but while the majority of critics are not prepared to allow that the first epistle bearing the name of S. Peter was actually written by that disciple, who could scarcely have written in idiomatic Greek, many attribute it to a scribe acting under his direction. There is, however, a certain Pauline ring about some of the phrases (cf. v. 2; ii. 13–17) which one would hardly expect from a Galilean fisherman. Some of the words belong essentially to ancient Greek writers of the classical period and later Hellenistic authors like Plutarch, Strabo, and Philo, while such passages as i. 12; iii. 19 f.; iv. 17 suggest an acquaintance with Jewish apocalyptic literature. If the letter was the work of Silvanus, S. Paul's companion, as has been suggested from time to time, these difficulties in great measure disappear, but the name (Silas) of the colleague of the Apostle of the Gentiles does not seem to be a very likely designation for a pseudonymous writer playing the part of amanuensis to S. Peter (v. 12). Another weighty objection to the Petrine authorship is the writer's reference to himself as a Presbyter, for it is unthinkable that before A.D. 70 an Apostle would have confused the Presbyterate with the Apostolate.

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[1] cf. ch. viii for discussion of the ministry in the Pastorals.

It is in view of such difficulties as these that Dr. Streeter has recently suggested that the epistle really consists of two documents by the same author, written about the year A.D. 90: (1) a sermon by a bishop to a group of newly-baptized persons (i. 3–iv. 11); (2) a letter of encouragement (iv. 12–v. 11) written in time of persecution. The first two and the last three verses of the epistle, on this hypothesis, were added some twenty years later when the great religious value of the work was recognized, and the document assigned to an Apostle to justify its inclusion in the Canon of New Testament.[1] To this he has added the suggestion that the actual author was Aristion, Bishop of Smyrna, mentioned by Papias.[2] The theory he admits is 'a reasonable guess' rather than a 'result of criticism,' but, inasmuch as the ingenuity of scholars has failed to solve the problem of the authorship and historical circumstances of the letter, a new solution, as he says, will hardly be deemed temerarious. At the same time it should be remembered that the majority of English scholars have placed the book in the latter years of Nero, A.D. 64–67.[1]

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[1] Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London, 1929), pp. 115 ff.

[2] Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, v. 20.

The authorship of the Epistle of S. James is equally difficult to determine. Tradition ascribes it to the Lord's brother, the leader of the Church in Jerusalem, who was martyred either in the reign of Nero or of Vespasian. Origen refers to it as 'the epistle which passes under the name of James,'[2] but it was not clearly attributed to the Apostle until the time of Dionysius of Alexandria, A.D. 248. In Syria, where James was held in special veneration, it was rejected by Theodore of Mopsuestia (A.D. 429) and Theodoret (450), while modern scholars tend to regard it as a second-century document contemporary with the *Shepherd* of Hermas. A recent attempt, however, has been made to establish the work as that of the Lord's brother, which puts the problem in a rather different light.[3] Yet the language and style are hardly reminiscent of Galilee before A.D. 62, the writer being apparently a Jew of the Dispersion and not of Palestine, who was acquainted with the Septuagint, the Wisdom Literature, and the Hellenic thought of Alexandria. Dr. Streeter suggests that the first verse was prefixed in the second century by an Alexandrian scholar, who from the internal evidence conjectured that the document was of Apostolic origin, and this gained for it its exalted place in Christian literature.[4] But, as it seems to us, the evidence is insufficient to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion concerning the date of the epistle, or its author.

Again, the Epistle attributed to Jude, brother of James, is difficult to associate with the Lord's household, since a member of the family would not be calculated to write such a sentence as 'the words which have been spoken aforetime by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus; how that they said to you, In the last time there shall be mockers, etc.' (verse 17). Clearly when the letter was written sexual immorality was rife, and the general setting is suggestive of that of 2 S. Peter and the Apocalypse, which seem to belong essentially to the sub-apostolic period. Some scholars, however, would place it as early as A.D. 80,[1] and this would satisfy the language of verse 17, though the heresies combated might well belong to a rather later time when Gnosticism was beginning to make its influence felt upon Christianity.

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[1] Sanday, *Expositor*, iv. pp. 407 f; Moffatt, op. cit., p. 339; McNeile, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Oxford, 1927), p. 212.

[2] *Comm. in Joh.* xix. 6.

[3] G. H. Rendall, *The Epistle of S. James and Judaic Christianity* (Cambridge, 1927).

[4] Streeter, op. cit., p. 191.

THE JOHANNINE LITERATURE

The Johannine literature cannot be considered apart from the Fourth Gospel, which has already been briefly discussed, since the literary unity of this group of writings suggests an identity of authorship. Moreover, all these documents appear to proceed from the same theological environment, and, except for the narrative sections of the Gospel, they deal with the same theme.[2] This is particularly apparent in the case of the First Epistle, and in the remaining two short letters there are unmistakable similarities in style and diction, which Dr. Charles thinks is more striking than in the case of 1 S. John.[3] There is a growing opinion among scholars that John the Apostle is in some way behind this literature as a whole, though the actual writer was the Presbyter of that name,[4] as is definitely asserted in the opening verse of both the Second and Third Epistle.[5]

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[1] Moffatt, op. cit., p. 357.

[2] R. H. Charles, *Revelation* (I.C.C., Edinburgh, 1920), vol. i, pp. xxxiv ff.; J. H. Bernard, *Gospel according to S. John* (I.C.C., Edinburgh, 1928), pp. lx ff.

[3] Charles, op. cit., p. xlii.

[4] cf. Harnack, *Chronol.*, vol. i, p. 677; *Zur Textkritik und Christologie der Schriften des Johannes* (1915), p. xxxvii. Bernard, op. cit., pp. lxviii. ff.

[5] Though by designating himself an 'elder' the writer does not necessarily associate himself with John the Presbyter. The son of Zebedee would hardly have referred to himself by this title.

THE APOCALYPSE

How far this hypothesis can be extended to include the Apocalypse it is difficult to say, since its style and symbolism are so very different from the rest of the Johannine literature. There are, it is true, certain affinities in the use of such expressions as 'the Word,' and 'the Lamb of God,' but, as Charles has shown, the numerous Hebraic idioms unknown in the other Johannine writings make it exceedingly difficult to believe that the books were composed by the same author, notwithstanding the fact that Harnack is disposed to attribute the Apocalypse to the Presbyter.[1] Bernard, on the other hand, advances reasons for ascribing it to the son of Zebedee,[2] and if this return to the traditional view [3] can be sustained in the light of further research, it will give an additional reason for the conclusion that the Beloved Disciple is the 'witness' behind the Fourth Gospel, which was actually written by the Elder. But it seems highly improbable that the Apocalypse was written before the Gospel, and there is no indication in the text that the author has seen Jesus in the flesh. He speaks of the names of the Apostles as twelve foundations of the Holy City in an impersonal manner, while his eschatological outlook is very different from that of S. Mark xiii. 32, and Revelation iii. 21 hardly corresponds with S. Mark x. 40. These discrepancies are surprising if the work is really of Apostolic origin.

The authorship of the Apocalypse, therefore, at present is very uncertain, and if the tendency of the most recent scholarship is against the composite character of the book, a great deal of earlier apocalyptic material seems to have been incorporated into the narrative from external sources. The general character of the symbolism suggests that the document was compiled in days of persecution, probably in its present form in the reign of Domitian at the very end of the first century A.D., by a Palestinian seer of the Johannine school who had lived in Asia. Some of the prophecies, however, may belong to earlier periods when first the Jews and then the Gentiles (ii. 9, 10, 13; iii. 9) caused the Church to pass through 'days of tribulation,' till in utter despair one generation after another of Christians cried, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?'

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[1] Charles, op. cit., pp. xxiv ff., 29.

[2] Bernard, op. cit., pp. lxiv ff.

[3] Justin Martyr, *Dial.* lxxxi. 15; Irenaeus, *Haer.* lv. xx. 11; Tertullian, *Marcion*, iii. xiv. 25.

In this brief survey of some of the chief results of the application of the scientific method to the elucidation of the problem of the New Testament, no attempt has been made to deal with the more technical critical questions which are outside the scope of the present volume, and indeed beyond the competency of the writer to determine. If much has been accomplished during the last century, and the general approach to the Scriptures entirely changed, still more remains to be done before the task of re-interpretation is in any sense complete. Here I have been content to state the more generally accepted conclusions of experts (this not being my own department of research), leaving the reader to form his own opinions where the evidence is inconclusive, as, for example, in the case of the Johannine literature, and the Pastoral and 'Catholic' epistles.

Nevertheless, no unbiassed scientific student, however inexpert, can fail to see the general tendency of recent investigation. It is now recognized by all experts that the New Testament, like the Old, is composed of writings of varying dates and degrees of authenticity. Of the Gospels S. Mark and S. Luke (especially the section called Proto-Luke) are the earliest accounts of the life of Jesus, derived largely from eye-witnesses of the events that transpired during His earthly pilgrimage. S. Luke obtained some of his information from the Marcan story, but both he and the First Evangelist also employed the document Q in determining the sayings and doings of Christ. Each writer had his own special sources, and freely incorporated his new material into the narrative; the Fourth Gospel, written in an Hellenic atmosphere, preserving the tradition of the Ephesian Church at the very end of the first century A.D.

In the Pauline literature, the epistles unquestionably written by the Apostle are 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, and Galatians. The evidence for the authenticity of Colossians, Philemon, Philippians, and Ephesians is, in my opinion, not to be lightly set aside, and I feel more convinced that S. Paul was responsible for these letters than for the Pastoral Epistles, though here again, if he did not actually write them, it seems that they contain some of his injunctions. Hebrews has, of course, been wrongly attributed to him, and in the present state of the evidence it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion regarding the date and authorship of 1 and 2 S. Peter, James, and Jude.

It is now clear that the Apostles and S. Paul were not the only recipients of Scriptural Divine revelation, as has been generally supposed, it having pleased the Holy Ghost to bestow some of His richest spiritual treasures through a Gospel that appears to have proceeded from the pen of a disciple of the second generation, not to mention such magnificent pieces of inspired literature as the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of S. Peter. Modern criticism, therefore, has broadened the basis of authentic tradition by revealing an outer circle of disciples like the Presbyter John, who were inspired to continue the work begun by the more restricted Apostolic band. In this way much light is now being thrown by the later writings of the New Testament on the obscure period, sometimes likened to a tunnel by former students of Church history, between the passing away of the Twelve and the advent of the Early Fathers. Thus we are now able to trace more accurately the development of Christian thought and practice in the Canonical Scriptures, instead of relying almost exclusively on legendary and apocryphal compilations, 'recognitions,' and homilies.

With the rise of Gnosticism in the second century it became necessary to safeguard the original tradition, and to this end Apostolic authorship was made an indispensable condition for the admission of a document into the Canon, so that even the Second and Third Gospels came to be attributed to Petrine and Pauline influence.[1] This practice has caused considerable confusion of dates and authorships, and incidentally it led to a false and quasi-magical conception of inspiration which proved a powerful, if not very convincing, weapon in the hands of the Reformers in their endeavour to establish a new and ultimate appeal to a verbally-inspired Bible. So long as it could be maintained that the New Testament writings were from an entirely different source from all other ecclesiastical traditions, they stood completely apart. Now, however, that notion has been dispelled, and the way is opened for a return to the earlier and more enlightened conception of the Church as the medium through which the Holy Spirit has spoken in all ages, guiding the selection of the books of the Canon, the adoption of certain forms of ministry, the enunciation of official formularies of faith, and the development of a sacramental system. All this can be traced in the New Testament in the emerging tradition of Christendom from its earliest records in the Synoptic Gospels to the 'form of sound words' which was in process of formulation, and being handed on from generation to generation, at the close of the first century A.D.

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[1] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

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CHAPTER V

THE INCARNATION

FROM whatever angle the New Testament [illegible] it is the Figure of the Christ that stands out [illegible] and self-consistent, and it is this Christ-centric religious experience that has persisted throughout the ages from the days of the Synoptic and Pauline traditions to the present time. The Apostles doubtless began by thinking of their Master as a prophet, but they recognized in Him something mysterious and awe-inspiring so that in their [illegible] consciousness they apprehended Him as the [illegible] Messiah. Further contact with His [illegible] firmed them in the belief that He was [illegible] special revelation, and when they [illegible] work in later years they, or one of their [illegible] to Him the momentous words, [illegible] (*S. John* x. 30); 'He that hath [illegible] Father' (*S. John* xiv. 9).

This claim that Jesus was in [illegible] however, does not rest upon a few [illegible] Fourth Gospel. It is the [illegible] for when the Marcan and [illegible] subjected to that careful [illegible] portance of their [illegible] contained is nothing short of a [illegible] world-values by One Who [illegible] utterances of God in [illegible] only as an emergent [illegible] made known in the past [illegible] authority, that the Gospel [illegible] light of modern knowledge.

THE REVELATION OF THE CHRIST

The theological doctrines of the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity undoubtedly developed as spiritual experience deepened, but they represent the religious interpretation of certain historical facts. As the Messiah and the apocalyptic Son of Man, the Apostles saw in Jesus, especially after the gathering at Caesarea Philippi, the super-rational, super-historical Saviour and Deliverer. After Pentecost He was still regarded as the Anointed of God but exalted as a Prince and a Saviour (*Acts* ii–v). The death of the proto-martyr constitutes a new departure inasmuch as it seems to have had a profound influence upon the theology of S. Paul, who was 'standing by' when S. Stephen cried, 'I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God' (*Acts* vii. 55 ff.). If these are the actual words that were uttered, as seems probable,[1] they may have suggested to the future Apostle the apocalyptic prophecy that 'one like unto a son of man' should be 'brought near to the Ancient of Days' (*Dan.* vii. 13), and although this would not necessarily imply any advance on the current Messianic conceptions, Stephen's dying words, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' could but mean that he regarded his Master as in some sense co-equal with Yahweh.

From that scene S. Paul set forth on his momentous journey to Damascus, and himself encountered a fresh revelation, as he beheld a light from heaven, and the words fell upon his ears, 'I am Jesus Whom thou persecutest.' In a flash, doubtless, the Faith stood revealed. Jesus was after all the Messiah-King and Son of Man, glorified and exalted at the right hand of God. Henceforth Paul saw in the crucified Nazarene the risen and ascended Saviour Who had died in perfect fulfilment of the Messianic promises. Having
?? liberated the human race from the curse and bondage of sin under which it groaned, by bearing the world's guilt in His

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[1] E. G. Selwyn, *The Approach to Christianity* (London, 1925), pp. 114 f.; W. L. Knox, *S. Paul and the Church of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 98.

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own body on the tree, He now reigned triumphant in heaven, exalted at the right hand of the majesty on high, as S. Stephen had perceived.

By S. Paul's associations with Hellenistic Judaism, and his training in the school of Hillel, the way had been prepared for this wider vision of the glorified Christ. Thus as early as A.D. 55 he spoke of 'the Lord of glory,' 'through Whom are all things' (1 *Cor.* ii. 8 ; viii. 6), and in Whom 'dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily' (*Col.* ii. 9). In fact, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself' (2 *Cor.* v. 19). Therefore, if he never actually affirmed the Deity of our Lord, in his religious experiences he equated Him with God. Moreover, his estimate is but the devotional interpretation of the historical situation recorded by the Synoptists, for, as Dr. Goudge has said, 'The highest religion of the Old Testament, the religion taught by our Lord, that taught by the twelve, and that taught by S. Paul are all one and the same religion, though at different stages of development.'[1]

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In the Fourth Gospel we find the completion of this revelation ; the author in presenting Christianity to the Hellenic world at Ephesus correlated the Jesus of Galilee with the Eternal Logos tabernacled among men. He does not hesitate to attribute to Him the saying, 'I and the Father are one,' pointing out that to the Jews this appeared to be a blasphemous utterance. Therefore, the narrative relates, they took up stones to stone Jesus, not for His ethical teaching and good works, but because, being a man, He made Himself God (*S. John* x. 30 ff.).[2] Furthermore it is stated that our Lord's guarded explanation of His humanity did not satisfy them for 'they sought again to take Him ; and He went forth out of their hands' (39).

Nothing short of the doctrine of the Deity of Christ will satisfy the Johannine conception, and this applies also to the

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[1] *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (Westminster Commentary, London, 1927), p. x.

[2] The mystical significance of these words seems to be underestimated by Hodgson, *And was made Man*, p. 190.

(on insufficient grounds

theology of the Apocalypse which belongs probably to the same period. The risen and glorified heavenly Saviour here is given the identical title, Alpha and Omega, applied to the Almighty (xxii. 13 ; i. 8), and is worshipped by the redeemed as the Divine Victim offered in sacrifice, and the Judge of the earth. He is the head of His bride the Church, the angels are His ministers, and human destiny is in His hands.

A suffering yet glorified Saviour, at once truly Human and perfectly Divine, was 'to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness,' yet the Church clung to its seemingly paradoxical belief till at length the concepts involved in the Messianic idea found their ultimate expression in the definition of Chalcedon ; that in the one Person of Christ two natures are permanently united 'complete in Godhead, complete also the selfsame in manhood.' Christian experience, however, did not at once find expression in theological definitions, and it was not until long after Jesus was glorified that the full force and significance of His personality was realized. Religious experience always precedes dogmatic formulation, historical judgements being relative, while spiritual intuition is concerned with the absolute. But throughout the credal development Jesus was the super-historical Christ of the Gospels and Catholic tradition, truly Man and subject to all the limitations proper to manhood, yet revealing God in His fullness. Thus He was evaluated as the Christ, the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the First-fruits of them that slept, the First-born of all creation, and finally, the Word made flesh, full of grace and truth, of one substance with the Father by Whom all things were made.

That some should see in this deepening of spiritual perception the gradual apotheosis of the Jesus of history into the Christ of the creeds under the influence of Oriental-Greek mystery cults is hardly surprising in view of the widespread tendency to raise popular heroes to Divine rank in other religions. Yet the more the New Testament is studied critically and impartially, the more apparent does it become that all the elements of the later Christology are inherent in

And so is all mankind, though in a much lesser degree. We are all from the One Eternal Source, God, who alone is the

the earlier narratives written within a quarter of a century of the actual occurrence of the events described or implied. We look in vain in the New Testament and the writings of the sub-apostolic period, it is true, for the enunciation of theologies whole and entire, comparable to the practice of the later ecclesiastical writers, but if there is development everywhere, it is always a development along the lines of a permanent tradition preserved in the historic creeds as the mature expression of the complex spiritual experience of Jesus as Lord and God. nonsense!

CHRISTOLOGY AND THE CREEDS

Contemporary events such as the conflict of Christianity with Gnosticism and Arianism, led to the formulation of dogmatic statements of orthodox belief in terms of certain current philosophical conceptions, but these happenings were the occasion rather than the cause of definition. The faith had already been given by the Holy Spirit and received by the Church, the circumstances of the time merely calling forth a statement of the Church's established belief in and experience of God in Christ relative to the dominant thought of the age.

There were then as now those who dwelt on the Gospel picture of the humanity of Jesus growing in favour with God and man as He passed through all the stages of human life; and they asked, in what sense are we to regard this unique Personality as God Incarnate? Others raised the same question but from another point of view. They concentrated their attention on the Divinity of Christ, and as the former held that in Christ two Persons, one Divine and the other Human, existed side by side, so the latter conceived that the humanity of Jesus was absorbed by His divinity. Thus arose the heresies known as Nestorianism and Eutychianism, which the Church had to controvert, the first at the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, and the second at Chalcedon in 451.

In the previous century thought had centred on a rather different aspect of the same Christological problem. If Jesus was God Incarnate what was His precise relation to the Father? In an age in which the spiritual and the material spheres were thought of as in necessary opposition it was not easy to see how God could appear as man in the world, and Arius, a priest of Alexandria, was led, by way of solution, to maintain that our Lord was a created being, and therefore He was not co-equal with God the Father. This interpretation conflicted with the essential Deity of Christ, and so the Church condemned it as heretical, first at the Council of Alexandria, and more explicitly at Nicea in 325, when a definite credal statement was drawn up setting forth the orthodox faith in unmistakable terms. It was then affirmed that Jesus was the Divine Logos, of one substance with the Father, begotten and not made.

affirmed on what evidence?

so are we all

According to the Platonic philosophy of those days, it was customary to employ the term *ousia* (i.e. *substance*, or *essence*) to denote something different from the created world, and therefore to introduce *homoousios* into the Creed at this point made it perfectly clear that our Lord's real nature was divine, since it was of the essence of the Creator. True, it was only one letter (or a diphthong, to be precise) that distinguished *homoousios* from *homoiousios*, but the difference in meaning was that between our Lord's being God and His being a created being; and it was of the first importance that the Church at the beginning of its career should make the distinction perfectly clear. Moreover, while language and thought have changed considerably since the controversy raged over the Arian heresy, the essential truths then contested remain the same, independent of any particular philosophical theory.

so are we all

on what grounds?

To-day, it is true, we do not think of the world in terms of *ousia* (substance), and our conception of personality has altered very considerably since the fourth century,[1] but behind these expressions there are ultimate realities which the passage of years with their changing philosophies do not touch. The merely human as we know it in ourselves and in others is not the truly and completely human as revealed for the first time all The Children of God, The Divine

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[1] cf. Temple, *Christus Veritas* (London, 1924), p. 136.

in the manhood of Christ. His humanity was real because, and only because, He was Divine, and His divinity differs from ours because it was His own by right of nature, He being of the very essence of the Godhead. We have to recognize, as Dr. Relton has said, that 'God in Christ is God stooping down and becoming poor for our sakes,' but care has to be taken not to go beyond what the New Testament reveals as to the extent of this 'poverty,' lest the resultant Incarnate Lord becomes at best a perfect man and nothing more. 'A Christology which begins from the Alexandrian standpoint and ends with a purely human Christ such as rationalism asks us to accept, will not commend itself to men who feel and know that their salvation is bound up with the reality of the work of Christ as the Divine Son of God as well as the human Son of Man.'[1]

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The Chalcedonian definition stated a fact, that the Lord Christ was really God and truly man, and herein lies its permanent value. The controversy surrounding the Council may represent 'the bankruptcy of Greek patristic theology,'[2] but the outcome was the safeguarding of a mystery beyond human comprehension in language which, if not free from objection, was as accurate as was possible under the circumstances. Since our world-view as well as our language and philosophy has changed considerably, it is only reasonable and right that Christological definition should take account of the new outlook. In place of the Platonism of the fifth century we are now faced with a scientific conception of the universe, and any serious attempt to interpret the Incarnation to the modern world must present this central truth of Christianity in twentieth-century terms.

THE INCARNATION AND THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

We now know that every cause has its 'field,' or zone of activity, and in contact with other concepts becomes creative, producing new patterns. Moreover, in the complex process of evolution there is a continual emergence of new forms till at length man appears with all his boundless activities and possibilities.[1] Transcending it all is the Absolute, the Supreme Divine Personality Himself, the source of all becoming, and the content of the eternal order. Christianity postulates Christ as the centre of spiritual Reality entering the 'field' of human existence and thereby introducing a new zone of activity. The eternal order realizes itself in society, as in the individual; for the conception of 'fields of force,' which has become customary in electro-magnetism, is only a special case of a phenomenon which is quite universal in the realm of thought and reality alike.

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[1] H. M. Relton, *A Study in Christology* (London, 1917), p. 213.

[2] W. Temple in *Foundations* (London, 1912), p. 230.

The doctrine of the Incarnation implies that the Creator Himself entered into the field of time and history, bringing thereby the super-historical within the historical in an 'absolute' historical Person. By this act of Divine self-disclosure a new order of Reality became established in the historical process so that spiritual forces insert themselves into the spatio-temporal series as a new synthesis. Thus the kingdom of God is brought into being to be the extension of the Incarnation for all time. As Father Thornton says in describing the verdict of historical Christianity on the Gospel revelation:

> What is recorded there gathers into itself all converging lines which precede; but not by a further stage of transformation within the resources of history and its processes as thus far conceived. Jesus Christ is not the product of history in its cumulative development, He stands within its succession; but He entered it from beyond. He justified the extravagance of apocalyptic dreams and came to meet man's need from beyond all human resources. He was not simply the highest response of man to God, the highest agent of redemptive activity. In Him the absolute actuality of God was incorporated into the historical process.[2]

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It must not be supposed, therefore, that the Incarnation represents a new stage emerging within the evolutionary process, for Christ is not a product of development, but being identical with that Absolute Reality which we call God, the eternal order is completely embodied in Him, and by 'taking the manhood into God,' He gathered up the cosmic series into His own humanity, and raised the human organism to the level of Deity.[1] Christ represents a new creation, not the product of creation emerging in an evolutionary scheme. His perfection came from God, and was with God, and was God. Therefore He was the Logos, the self-expression of Ultimate Reality incarnate in time and space. He has given a perfect picture of what humanity at its highest and best can be, so that out of His ideal manhood His divinity emerges as something that raises Him above the human level altogether, making Him 'equal with God.'

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[1] cf. ch. ii, pp. 22 ff.

[2] *The Incarnate Lord* (London, 1928), p. 164.

no evidence for all this — mere assumption.

But, it is sometimes urged, can it be assumed that in Christ creative spiritual activity finds its goal and climax, inasmuch as evolution appears to be in the main a continuous upward process? Although the earth is more than a thousand million years old, apparently it is still in its infancy. In the vast region of space there are other planets far older, and there is reason to think that we are only at the very beginning of our history as an inhabited sphere. Are we, then, justified in believing that spiritual finality was reached two thousand years ago? May it not be that development will continue till at length we reach a race of super-men, who, having passed through their troubled periods of infancy and adolescence, at last attain to a peaceful maturity with no cares beyond the continued improvement of their mode of existence?

This alternative to the Christian view of life seems at first to be the more probable, but on further consideration it becomes less convincing. Though our civilization has only run its course to the extent of some six thousand years or less (dating it from the discovery of agriculture, and the attendant arts and crafts), as history grows more intense and life more strenuous, can it be maintained that there is a corresponding advance in spirituality? Is it not true to say that man is daily becoming more restless and bewildered by the social structure he has devised? Are there any real signs of an approaching social millennium, or of 'a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness'? Man is unquestionably more humane to-day than he was in former ages, but nevertheless it was principles of humanity, and not of tyranny and exploitation, that bound together the Hellenic world, the Roman Empire, and in a greater degree the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages.

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[1] cf. op. cit., pp. 224 ff.

Yes, there are more spiritually-minded men now than there were in the former past or in the middle ages. Man has, on the whole, [illegible] spiritually.

Happily we are now feeling our way towards the regrouping of the nations in a federation for peace instead of in treaties of war, but only after the catastrophe that befell us in 1914 revealed the destructive possibilities of modern scientific warfare, the barbarities of which may all too easily surpass anything hitherto conceived in judicial torture and religious persecution at its very worst. It is the realization that when the memories of the recent havoc have become dimmed by time a new generation may arise bent upon a repetition on a grander scale of the carnage of the present century that stimulates men of goodwill everywhere to seek to render war more and more difficult in the future by the reduction of armaments and similar devices. Moreover, do not the best features of our civilization, its ideals and aspirations, take their inspiration for the most part from a Christian view of life?

In Christ human nature is shown forth at its highest and best, inasmuch as history can produce no rival in the sphere of spiritual and ethical values. A long line of prophets with unique religious insight preceded Him, but He claimed to be the climax of them all, and His claim has been accredited by subsequent generations who have found in Him not only the completion of the lofty prophetic and Messianic expectations of the Jews, but also the Incarnation of the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. In every stage of His life He was exactly what that stage required, while in His complete life He revealed, once and for all, what God essentially and eternally is, as well as what He wills His people to become.

The evolutionary process presupposes some standards of value which may be regarded as absolute, and, as Dr. Streeter has said, 'in Christ we are in contact with a personality of a quality which, in a sense, we may call "absolute"; that is

Then why, up to now, has mankind not been saved? It is because mankind has [illegible] disregarded his [illegible] from him his teachings.

not just one (not even the greatest) of a series of prophets, but, as He Himself supposed, its climax.'[1] So He has drawn mankind to Himself as the final and complete revelation of human personality, and inspired men to mould their own lives upon, and to develop among their fellows, His ideals and holy aspirations. Thus the emergence of the Divine on the plane of history has inaugurated a new era by revealing the true and essential nature of humanity, and the goal of the human race. In the great creative act which we call the Incarnation a new development in human achievement became possible, and while Christ remains, and we believe will continue to remain, the climax of human personality, being at once perfect God and true Man, the upward progress of the race did not thereby cease. 'For it is not yet made manifest what we shall be, we know that if He shall be made manifest, we shall be like Him.' And 'every one that hath this hope set on him purifieth himself, even as He is pure.'

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[1] *Adventure* (London, 1927), p. 137.

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CHAPTER VI

SIN AND REDEMPTION

THE acceptance of the doctrine of the Incarnation faces us at once with the problem of sin and redemption. At all times the question of evil has threatened to overwhelm monotheism, for if there be but one God and He is good, and the Creator of all things visible and invisible, why is the world the scene of struggle and strife in every department of its life ? Polytheism offered a ready answer in the provision of deities and demons in revolt against the beneficent hierarchy. Calamities that could not be traced to natural sources were explained in terms of malevolent supernatural agencies, or as punishments for the neglect of ritual observances, sin being regarded as a substantive miasma, or defilement in the non-moral sense. In this way the problem of evil was solved, and in due course the custom arose of offering *piacular* sacrifices to propitiate the gods when they were angry.[1]

THE CONCEPT OF SIN IN ISRAEL

With the establishment of ethical monotheism in Israel after the Exile, the question of the origin and nature of evil had to be explained. Clearly if Yahweh was the Holy and Righteous Lord of all the earth, He could not be the source of evil, and yet it could not be denied that all have sinned and come short of the purpose of his creation. Moreover, not only did man fail to keep the Law of God, and as a result he brought divine wrath upon his head, but the righteous seemed to suffer while the ungodly flourished like a green bay-tree. This strange enigma sent the Psalmist into the Temple in despair (*Ps.* lxxiii. 16 f.), and it inspired the author of the Book of Job to write a magnificent vindication of the moral perfection of God, but in neither case was any light thrown upon the real problem. The Deutero-Isaiah pointed to a solution in his wonderful conception of the Ideal Suffering-servant (*Isa.* liii), but this was obscured after the Exile by Rabbinical and apocalyptic speculation concerning the problem of evil and original sin. With the development of an appreciation of ethical values the conviction of sin as a moral concept deepened, and as a result there grew up the belief that in every man there was an innate bias towards evil (*Ps.* cxxx. 3; cxl. 2; li. 5). This notion ultimately led the later Rabbis to enunciate the doctrine of an 'evil *yetser*,' or 'imagination,' existing potentially in the heart of man to test his character (*Ecclus.* xv. 11–17; xxxvii. 3). This theory, however, made God directly responsible for sin, even though it was utilized by the Creator for a beneficent purpose in strengthening human personality. Devout Jews, therefore, untrained in the subtleties of Rabbinical reasoning, felt that some other explanation of the phenomena was required, and this found expression in the apocalyptic literature.[1]

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[1] cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* (London, 1906), vol. i, pp. 471, 437.

THEORIES OF THE FALL

In the Maccabaean period various attempts were made to seek the universal hereditary taint, which at this time had taken possession of Jewish thought, in a primal sin. The event first selected to account for the origin of the 'evil imagination' was the story of the apostate angels (*Nephilim* or 'watchers') narrated in Genesis vi, human wickedness, on this hypothesis (elaborated in the Book of Enoch (cf. 1 *Enoch* ix. 6; x. 7, 8; lxix. 9, 10) and the other apocalyptic works), being due to the unnatural alliance of the 'sons of God' with mortal women. In this way the Creator was cleared of any complicity in the origin of evil, but the theory failed to explain the continuance of sin after the Flood.

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[1] cf. N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin* (London, 1927), pp. 3–91, for a detailed analysis of post-exilic speculation.

Gradually another interpretation of the Fall arose based on the assumption that the original state of the human race was one of unfallen righteousness, though the Yahwistic narrative actually contains no such doctrine. According to the Genesis writer, the transgression of Adam and Eve lay in their attempt to acquire knowledge forbidden them by Yahweh-Elohim, and for this unlawful prying into divine secrets they were duly punished. But the Eden incident constituted a more satisfactory cause for the universal phenomena of evil than the *Nephilim* legend, and therefore, as speculation about the Fall developed in the Maccabaean period, the story of Adam's sin won widespread acceptance, so that at length the Rabbis were compelled to take account of it, although their theory of the 'evil imagination' has always remained the official doctrine of Judaism. But the Fall of Adam was the normal explanation of the cause of physical death and human depravity, hereditarily transmitted to all mankind as a result of the initial act of disobedience (*Ecclus*. xxv. 24). Traces of the more academic Rabbinical theory occur in the New Testament (cf. *S. Matt.* vii. 11; xii. 33 f.; *S. Luke* xi. 13; vi. 43 f.) together with the *Nephilim* hypotheses of the older apocalyptists (*Jude* 6, 7; 2 *S. Pet.* i. 4; ii. 4; cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 10), but it is the Adam-story that forms the basis of S. Paul's doctrine of sin and redemption.

THE PAULINE CONCEPTION OF SIN AND REDEMPTION

From the Synoptic Gospels it would seem that our Lord made no attempt to decide between the various theories of original sin current in His day, but S. Paul takes the popular interpretation for granted, and stated the doctrine of the Atonement in terms of Adam's transgression. 'As through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall many be made righteous' (*Rom.* v. 19). In writing to the Corinthians he says nothing about a state of original righteousness, as Dr. Williams points out,[1] but in setting forth his argument concerning the Second Adam he regards the first man of the earth earthy, and it was through Adam that sin and death was communicated to his posterity (1 *Cor.* xv. 47, 21 f.). It would appear that S. Paul supposed the first man to have been spiritually and intellectually undeveloped, and sinless until through transgression he fell, and brought thereby sin and death into the world. Nevertheless, though 'death reigned from Adam to Moses,' yet until the Law was given sin was not in the world for 'sin is not imputed where there is no law' (*Rom.* v. 13 f.). But once the will of God had been made known then disobedience involved personal guilt. At this point 'actual sin' is distinguished from an original tendency to sin, and the need of redemption becomes manifest to overcome the effects of the Fall.

THE CHURCH AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE FALL

This systematization of the origin and development of evil was adopted by the Church, and in the West it developed into a theory of original *guilt*—a *depravatio naturae*—according to which an unbaptized person is a 'child of wrath' conceived and born in sin. Eastern theologians have been content for the most part to postulate the Fall as a *privatio*, or withdrawal of divine grace, emphasizing 'original righteousness,' whereas Tertullian and his followers in the West stressed 'original guilt.' Under the influence of Augustine, who found in the Pauline conception of the 'twice-born' a counterpart of his own spiritual experience, man was regarded as having been created in a state of perfection, exempt from all physical ills, and endowed with quasi-divine powers. From this exalted condition the human race was reduced to abject misery and degradation, doomed to everlasting death and torment. From these depths Christ rescued the ruined race;

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[1] op. cit., pp. 123 ff.

but, even so, salvation is possible only to the baptized who are given the grace of final perseverance. The unbaptized are incapable of virtue, and while Augustine sometimes allows that the punishment of unbaptized infants will be mitigated, this is not his general opinion.[1]

It is unquestionably to be much regretted that the Augustinian theory of sin and the Fall (which constitutes the high-water mark of speculation concerning human depravity in Catholic theology) was adopted by the Western Church in the early days of its career, and it will hardly be denied that it has been largely responsible for the erroneous doctrines connected with this subject in later Christian thought, especially in the Reformation period. It should be remembered, however, that S. Augustine was in revolt against Pelagius, who taught not only that human nature is wholly uncorrupt but that man is practically his own saviour.[2] Therefore if the Augustinian dogma that man is intrinsically evil is a gross overstatement of S. Paul's teaching, the Pelagian view of sin as the natural result of the bad example of the first parents of the race, and of the environment in which mankind lives, is equally untenable.

It is scarcely true to say that the Church in the West steered a clear course between these two extremes, but it certainly never officially accepted Augustinianism *in toto*. The Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) condemned in general terms the Pelagian teaching of Celestius, and thereby set its seal on the doctrine of the Fall championed by S. Augustine, but it did not formally sanction the theory as a whole. Similarly the Synod of Orange in 529 maintained only a modified version of it, while under scholastic influence the fundamental principles of Augustine were still further softened. S. Thomas denied that natural goodness was forfeited by the Fall or free will destroyed, maintaining that while the whole order of supernatural elevation was lost through Adam's transgression, 'sin (even original) neither takes away nor diminishes the natural endowments.'[1] God is represented as desiring the salvation of all men, and no one is condemned to hell except through his own fault.[2]

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[1] *Ad Simplic.* i, q. 1, 4, 10, 20, 22; *de civ. Dei*, xxii. 14; *Enchiridion*, 26, 27, 103.

[2] Pelagius, *Libellus fidei ad Innocent. papam.*, ap. S. Aug. *Opera*, 1700, x; cf. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. v, pp. 191 ff.

The Council of Trent adopted the Scholastic doctrine in its Thomist form, and after declaring five assertions of a Pelagian type to be heretical, it asserted that the Fall caused the loss of original righteousness—a *privatio* which every child contracts at its conception, constituting the death of the soul.[3] Thus the Thomist principle of the privation of sanctifying grace is skilfully blended with the Augustinian notion of a positive taint involving spiritual death. Similarly, the Thirty-Nine Articles employed the language of S. Augustine in making original sin the fault and corruption of the nature of every man naturally engendered of the offspring of Adam, but having the effect only of depriving him of original righteousness, and giving him an inclination towards evil. But, nevertheless, the net result of the Fall is alleged to be that 'every person born into the world deserveth God's wrath and damnation.'

But it remained for the Protestant Reformers to carry the theory to its logical conclusion in the doctrine of Predestination and irresistible grace. Both Calvin and Luther agree in insisting on the utter depravity of human nature which alone can be saved through grace. The Reformation, in fact, represents the triumph of the Augustinian doctrine of grace over Augustine's doctrine of the Church, with disastrous results to the body corporate. Man being incapable of any worthy act or deed in his own nature, can but throw himself on the mercy of a wrathful God and trust in His free grace to save him from destruction. For this distortion of the Christian Faith the way had been prepared by the doctrine of indispensable and prevenient grace already established in the Church, and it only required the addition of the irresistibility of prevenient grace (which followed naturally from S. Augustine's premises) to complete the triumph of Protestantism, and the rending of the Church. Augustine admitted free-will in theory, but since he regarded fallen man as incapable of choosing the path of virtue of his own accord, it was but a step to the Protestant corollary that some men are predestined to evil. Melancthon went so far as to assert that God predestines the sins as well as the good deeds of men.[1]

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[1] *Summa Theologica I*, q. lxxxv, a. 1.

[2] *Lib. II, Sententiarum*, dist. 23, q. viii, a. 4.

[3] Sess. v, can. ii; Sess. vi, cap. iii.

The Western Church happily never permitted the Augustinian theory to reach its logical conclusion; and in the seventeenth century it anathematized as heretical the Jansenist doctrine of original sin which maintained that after the Fall human nature was so fundamentally changed that the will became powerless to resist either temptation or divine grace. In England the Augustinian attitude of the Thirty-Nine Articles was challenged by Jeremy Taylor,[2] and in the eighteenth century an attempt was made to eliminate the more Calvinistic features. Although this attempt failed, clerical subscription to the document was considerably modified in 1865.

THE FALL AND EVOLUTION

It was, however, into an atmosphere saturated with Augustinianism that the Darwinian hypothesis was plunged in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the popular conception of the Fall had been considerably influenced by the crude version of the Genesis story portrayed by Milton in *Paradise Lost*. But once the veil was drawn which had hitherto hidden to a considerable degree the gigantic struggle for existence in the countless ages since life first emerged on some primeval lagoon, the problem of sin and suffering stood revealed in all its complexity. Cruelty in Nature, and the wholesale elimination of the unfit as a potent factor in evolution, extending through geological ages occupying millions of years, had to be explained, or explained away, somehow. At first the line of least resistance was adopted, and futile attempts were made to discredit the scientific evidence. But, as the data accumulated, it soon became apparent to the acuter minds that the problem could not be disposed of in this manner. Natural selection may have been over-emphasized, yet no thinking person to-day would affirm that evil, suffering, and death are in any sense peculiar to the human race. Therefore, apart from the question of the historicity of the Eden story, the traditional theory of the Fall does not solve the ultimate question.

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[1] Martin Chemnitz, *Loc. Theol.* ed. Leyser (1610), vol. i, p. 173.

[2] *Works* (London, 1822), vol. ix, p. 373.

Neither the Adam-story nor the apocalyptic legend of the revolt of Satan attempts to explain how the author of evil came to rebel. The philosophical problem in fact is really left unsolved in the Scriptures, no adequate reason being given anywhere as to why the creature is able to rebel against the Creator, any more than biology tells us why man is able to change the course of evolution. Nevertheless, the belief in the goodness of God carries with it the notion of a 'first sin,' since a benevolent Deity could not create man inherently evil. Furthermore, there is unmistakable evidence in creation as a whole, as well as in the human race, that something has happened to upset the original divine scheme, if it be granted that God is essentially 'the good.' Apart, then, from any particular theories, Biblical or ecclesiastical, it would seem as a matter of observation that the evolutionary process, regarded from a theistic standpoint, has undergone some modification.

Life as a whole is, and always has been, a struggle against the forces of death and decay, an attempt to build up its tissues and adapt itself to either stable or changing conditions of environment.[1] The ultimate aim of this synthetic adaptation is to secure for an organism greater mastery over its surroundings, and some measure of freedom of action. In the long process of evolution, species have become extinct through some failure in specialization, as, for example, in the case of the gigantic reptiles in the Triassic period, which developed enormous bodies at the expense of brains, and therefore proved to be unprogressive and finally became extinct. Only along the human line, in fact, has progress been sufficiently continuous and uniform to produce a unique creative personality with a measure of free will and moral appreciation. It appears, then, that the emergence of moral personalities is the end to which the evolutionary process has been wending its way; but it is in the moral and ethical sphere that the human race has failed to live up to its possibilities.

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[1] cf. ch. ii, pp. 20 ff.

While all the elements which go to make up conscience exist in animal consciousness, in man alone are they organized and consolidated with reference to moral ends, and, therefore, only human beings can be guilty of sin in the theological sense, since no other creature has the same knowledge of right and wrong. It is probably in the social instincts that the origin of conscience is to be sought psychologically, and we know that in primitive society religious and moral concepts have developed simultaneously. Religion re-enforces the moral law by assigning to it supernatural sanctions, hedging round the sacred with *tabus*. Hence to break the law is sin, or, in the language of S. Paul, 'sin is not imputed where there is no law' (*Rom.* v. 13).

As the herd instinct developed into the religious conscience conflicts doubtless arose, instincts relating to sex and 'self' disputing with conscience for the mastery. Somehow self-seeking and sensuality have become the arch-enemies of society in all ages, and it is a matter of historical fact that selfishness and moral decadence have destroyed one great civilization after another; Babylonia, Egypt, Crete, Persia, Greece, and Rome, not to mention more recent examples of these evils and their consequences in the modern world.

In an ideal society there would be a full realization of the interests of every member of it. The complete good is the good of the whole, and the elimination of every conflicting private and personal consideration. It would certainly seem that in some ways early man was nearer to this ideal than his more developed and individualistic successors, for with the progress of civilization has come the desire for individual self-aggrandisement, personal achievement, and similar forms of selfishness. Therefore in climbing up the ladder of civilization man has fallen in many respects, ethically and morally. This suggests an arrested development of the primary social instincts, a 'stepping-aside' from the upward path of true progress.

How far this came about through a single act of 'transgression,' or by a series of 'group sins,' it is impossible to say. But in either case the fact remains that human nature and human society are very far gone from the ideal state in which we may surmise it was the divine purpose that the highest emergents in the evolutionary process should live. A hereditary defective control of the instincts, a weakness of will, is manifest throughout the human race, so that transgression has become habitual. Man is capable of reaching out after God and responding to the operation of the Holy Spirit revealing the Divine Will, but in setting up his own will as the determining factor in his conduct, human personality has become subject to a process of disintegration. As a result self-love, self-assertion, and self-indulgence have produced incoherent conflicting instincts, emotions, and desires with no divine purpose to resolve them into a disciplined unity. This falling away from God and His purposes for mankind, with the accompanying bias to selfishness, constitutes a universal phenomenon, independent of any particular theory of interpretation, and seems to be in the nature of an 'emergence' of evil in the human world.

THE SOURCE OF EVIL

Can we go further and attribute the phenomenon to an influence that has entered the cosmic order as a whole from an extraneous source before the advent of man? As we have pointed out, it is difficult to reconcile the cruelty in Nature and the savagery in all states of human culture with the conception of a benevolent Creator Whose banner is love, and without Whom a sparrow falls not to the ground. True, there is no 'sin' in the strictly ethical sense in the pre-human struggle for existence, and the unconscious cruelties of the animal world were doubtless grossly exaggerated by Victorian naturalists and biologists, to whom the dogma of the survival of the fittest appeared as a crude warfare of each against all, in which the weakest went to the wall. Yet, however guiltless and altruistic the sufferings in Nature may be, the principle of evil seems somehow to be inherent in the process. Soften down the horrors as you will, you cannot escape the conclusion that there is a malevolent element in the biological universe. Therefore to explain the facts in terms of an ethical and beneficent Deity, we are compelled to postulate not only a cosmic Fall but some exterior uncaused cause of evil other than the will of the Creator.

Here, of course, we are at once faced with the problem of dualism. It was the contemplation of the good and evil in the world that led the Gnostics to regard the material universe as so corrupt that it could only have been the work of a Demiurge, far removed from and hostile to the supreme benevolent Deity. In the Iranian Persian systems the existence of an evil Creator in antagonism to the good God is a fundamental concept, and it was largely through Mazdean and other Persian influences that dualism found expression at the beginning of the Christian era.[1] It failed, however, to evolve a satisfactory theory of redemption, being content to postulate a vague optimistic belief that the evil principle is destined at last to be destroyed, when the good God will triumph over the forces of evil.

This is not very different from Hegel's hypothesis that sin is a means to raise man to a higher stage of assured virtue,[2] or the contention of Sir Oliver Lodge that when man fell 'below the standard at which he had consciously arrived' he rose 'in the scale of existence.'[3] But, as Dr. Williams has pointed out, 'The acceptance of Hegel's presentation of the Fall-doctrine would have the effect of transforming Chris-selfishness. Therefore in climbing up the ladder of civilization man has fallen in many respects, ethically and morally. This suggests an arrested development of the primary social instincts, a 'stepping-aside' from the upward path of true progress.

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[1] Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1911), p. 151.

[2] J. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 217, 232 ff.

[3] *The Making of Man*, pp. 84, 151.

How far this came about through a single act of 'transgression,' or by a series of 'group sins,' it is impossible to say. But in either case the fact remains that human nature and human society are very far gone from the ideal state in which we may surmise it was the divine purpose that the highest emergents in the evolutionary process should live. A hereditary defective control of the instincts, a weakness of will, is manifest throughout the human race, so that transgression has become habitual. Man is capable of reaching out after God and responding to the operation of the Holy Spirit revealing the Divine Will, but in setting up his own will as the determining factor in his conduct, human personality has become subject to a process of disintegration. As a result self-love, self-assertion, and self-indulgence have produced incoherent conflicting instincts, emotions, and desires with no divine purpose to resolve them into a disciplined unity. This falling away from God and His purposes for mankind, with the accompanying bias to selfishness, constitutes a universal phenomenon, independent of any particular theory of interpretation, and seems to be in the nature of an 'emergence' of evil in the human world.

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Can we go further and attribute the phenomenon to an influence that has entered the cosmic order as a whole from an extraneous source before the advent of man ? As we have pointed out, it is difficult to reconcile the cruelty in Nature and the savagery in all states of human culture with the conception of a benevolent Creator Whose banner is love, and without Whom a sparrow falls not to the ground. True, there is no 'sin' in the strictly ethical sense in the pre-human struggle for existence, and the unconscious cruelties of the animal world were doubtless grossly exaggerated by Victorian naturalists and biologists, to whom the dogma of the survival of the fittest appeared as a crude warfare of each against all, in which the weakest went to the wall. Yet, however guiltless and altruistic the sufferings in Nature may be, the principle of evil seems somehow to be inherent in the process. Soften down the horrors as you will, you cannot escape the conclusion that there is a malevolent element in the biological universe. Therefore to explain the facts in terms of an ethical and beneficent Deity, we are compelled to postulate not only a cosmic Fall but some exterior uncaused cause of evil other than the will of the Creator.

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[1] Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, 1911), p. 151.

[2] J. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology* (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 217, 232 ff.

[3] *The Making of Man*, pp. 84, 151.

The early Church recognized that the whole world 'lieth in the evil one' (1 *S. John* v. 19), the physical universe groaning and travailing in pain together with man (*Rom.* viii. 18 ff.), but it sought the origin of evil in an uncaused causality which has upset the divine plan of creation. Christian tradition and experience maintain that there has been a universal falling away from the purpose of God, and since it is impossible to think of a benevolent Deity being responsible for sin and misery, or of an impersonal force rebelling against its Creator, the most reasonable explanation of the phenomena of evil seems to be that a personal will has set itself in opposition to the will of God. It is this concept that finds expression in the Scriptural doctrine of the Satan as the prince of the powers of darkness, the antagonist of Michael in the apocalyptic literature.

It is only when the devil is made the enemy of God that dualism results. But originally the Hebrew Satan was not represented as the rival of Yahweh, being one of the *elohim* who exercised his functions by divine permission (*Job* i. 6, possibly a pre-exilic passage). The *elohim*, or 'sons of god' (literally, 'the sons of the gods,' *Gen.* vi. 2–4), were spiritual beings analogous to the benevolent inferior spirits which played a prominent part in Semitic belief, only employed as the agents of Yahweh between heaven and earth, with whom He took counsel (cf. 1 *Kings* xxii. 19–22; *Job* i. 6; ii. 1; xxxviii. 7 ff.; *Ps.* xix. 1; xxix. 1, 2; lxxxix. 5–7). Thus the Deity is represented as discussing the case of Job with Satan in the presence of the heavenly courtiers (*Job* i. 6–ii. 1) before He allowed His attendant to test the sincerity of the righteous man. But at this stage of Hebrew theology Satan was not the enemy, still less the rival of God. His function was that of testing character rather than of entrapping men into evil by his own inherent perversity. The problem of evil, however, demanded an explanation, and as the post-exilic theologians reflected and speculated, the theory of 'the Adversary' developed till at length Satan became the arch-enemy of good. In Zechariah iii. 1–5 he is the prosecuting counsel who accuses men before God, and is rebuked by the 'angel of Yahweh,' and finally, in 1 Chronicles xxi. 1, he becomes the tempter instead of the accuser, and therefore the originator of evil.

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[1] N. P. Williams, op. cit., pp. 505 f.

[2] *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, Rosenkrantz und Schubert (Leipzig, 1838), vol. x, p. 34.

[3] Williams, op. cit., p. 506.

In the New Testament a personal source of evil is postulated (*S. Matt.* xiii. 38; *S. John* viii. 41 ff.; *Acts* xiii. 10; 1 *Cor.* vii. 5; 2 *Cor.* xii. 7; *Eph.* ii. 2; iv. 27; 1 *Thess.* ii. 18; *Heb.* ii. 14 f.; *Rev.* xii. 9 ff.). But even in its more extreme apocalyptic expressions, the notion of a personified source of evil (Satan) who wars against God and man does not involve dualism, since it is God Who allows the conflict and directs it to His own ends for the redemption of mankind (*Rev.* xii).

The theory of good and evil and the doctrine of the Satan which arose in post-exilic Israel are the expressions of an outstanding fact of human history from which there is no escape. 'We have all sinned and come short of the glory of God.' The Jewish Rabbis saw in 'the evil imagination' the hand of Yahweh, because the conflict between the good and evil *yetser* developed character. Like the modern psychologist, they realized that desires which cannot be satisfied lawfully in actual life may be diverted into other channels, and by re-association and re-direction may be rendered not only harmless but also effective for the attainment of higher ends and ideals. All human failure may be made educative, and is meant to be finally overcome. Sin, inasmuch as it consists in a wrong choice in alternative courses of action, prevents progress towards freedom, and therefore tends to arrest spiritual development, giving the material ascendancy over the spiritual. Consequently, if the purposes of God for man are to be fulfilled, a way of escape from sin—an atonement—is needed.

THE ATONEMENT

In Christ we have the ideal human Personality in Whom the material element never predominated over the powers of Spirit. By emptying Himself of His divine prerogatives He became one with the human race, and took the consequences of sin upon Himself. In the light of recent New Testament studies it seems that He recognized His vocation not only as the Messiah, and the Son of Man, but also as the Servant destined to give His life a ransom for many. There is an indication of this wider mission as the Isaianic Servant in the parables of the Vineyard, the Lost Sheep, and the Prodigal Son, while His poured out blood is represented as 'covenant blood' shed as a propitiation on behalf of the nation (*S. Mark* xiv. 24). It is therefore not surprising that His death was interpreted by His followers as a vicarious sacrifice (*Rom.* v. 9 ; *Eph.* i. 7 ; ii. 13 ; *Col.* i. 20 ; *Heb.* ix, x, xiii ; 1 *S. Pet.* i. 2, 19 ; 1 *S. John* i. 7 ; v. 6, 8 ; *Rev.* i. 5 ; v. 9 ; vii. 14).

THEORIES OF THE ATONEMENT

It was inevitable, however, that attempts would be made to rationalize, explain, and unify the mystery of Calvary. If Christ gave His life 'a ransom for many' this must surely mean, it was argued, that He had paid a price to save us from the power of the devil. According to this theory, which was first set forth by Origen, our Lord bought off by His own blood Satan's right over fallen humanity, and thereby conquered the forces of evil. Thus His death was both a sacrifice to God and a ransom to the devil. This hypothesis, though open to many obvious objections, made a ready appeal to the early Church in an age in which evil was personified in every untoward circumstance in Nature as well as in human mental derangement. The victory won on Good Friday was the only sure refuge against the powers of evil, the sign of the Cross being sufficient to make demons quake and flee.

Again, when society was organized on a feudal basis, it was easy to think of God as the sovereign Lord of the universe Whose honour had been violated by sin. Centuries before, Tertullian had given Catholic theology the term 'satisfaction' as an element of repentance, and now it was used to describe the expiatory aspect of the passion. Thus Anselm (1033–1109) employed it to denote the Godward effect of the penitential system of the Mediaeval Church by which the honour of God violated by sin was vindicated. It was thought that man could make some tribute towards the debt that had been paid on Calvary by offering an appropriate gift in union with the Sacrifice of the Cross. Since it had always been held that the Sacrifice of the Altar is the abiding offering of the one 'full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world,' the great Christian act of worship, once it was regarded as a separate sacrifice, tended to be thought of as possessing a power of its own. Hence arose the custom of offering numerous Masses for quick and dead, together with penances, alms, and indulgenced prayers, to work out, as it were, one's own salvation.

Against this great mediaeval penitential system the Reformers set their theory of justification by faith and irresistible grace. Christ had paid the penalty of sin, it was urged, and expiated the Divine wrath once and for all on Calvary. In this finished work of Redemption men were exhorted to find peace and security in full and free salvation. But the forensic imputation of Christ's righteousness to believing sinners is only another form of penal substitutionism, and makes the atonement appear in the light of an immoral transaction, justification consisting in a passive acceptance of an accomplished fact, rather than co-operation in a victory won under prescribed conditions.

This crude sixteenth-century substitutionary theory has now produced by way of reaction a virtual denial of the atoning value of the Crucifixion so that the death of Christ is regarded as the greatest of human tragedies transformed by accretions from the Mystery cults into a sacrificial offering. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, Abelard suggested that Calvary was the supreme example of the love of God and as such called forth a saving response from the heart of the sinner. To-day this minimizing doctrine has been carried to its extreme limits in the theory that the Cross was the 'crowning illustration of the ethical principle which ran through all our Lord's teaching'; the natural climax of His life, and 'not His act, but the act of the Jewish priests, the Roman magistrate, and the Roman soldiers.'[1]

THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION

But from whatever point of view the Gospels are read, if they are in any real sense historical traditions, it is impossible to escape from the fact that they are a record of what God has done to redeem mankind. Our Lord is continually represented as setting before Himself the task of carrying out a great mission in an alien world which brought Him up against all the vested interests in Church and State. Regardless of the consequences He persevered, riding out 'because of the word of truth, and meekness and righteousness.' His sufferings and death were inevitable results of this policy, but long before He engaged in the last and fiercest conflict,

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[1] H. Rashdall, *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology* (London, 1919), pp. 46, 149.; cf. C. W. Emmett, *The Lord of Thought* (London, 1922), pp. 237 f.

He had taken the infirmities and borne the sicknesses of the people He loved so intensely. In the hours of the passion this taking of human afflictions and miseries upon Himself reached its climax at a moment when the Jews were preparing to celebrate their Paschal rites. Seeing in Himself the Suffering Servant and Messiah-King, He knew that He had come to seek and to save, and He could hardly have failed to be conscious that He was fulfilling all that had been written concerning the prophetic Figures which He accepted as His proto-types. So we may surmise He expected not merely to fulfil in a new way the ideal of David, but to be the consummation of the sacrificial system of the Old Law. As He Himself said, He had come 'not to destroy but to fulfil.'

If the partial self-revelation to Israel had failed, or at least proved insufficient for the purposes of redemption, divine mediatorial action was not thereby exhausted. If the death of Christ was an atoning sacrifice analogous to the piacular sacrifices of Judaism, as the New Testament maintains (*S. Mark* xiv. 24; cf. *Exod.* xxiv. 8; *Zech.* ix. 11; 4 *Macc.* vi. 27 ff.; xvii. 8 ff.), it had a new objective efficacy as a great voluntary act of self-surrender consummating all that had gone before in the sacrificial system and the prophetic utterances. According to the Synoptists, our Lord expressly spoke of having come into the world to save sinners (*S. Luke* xix. 10), to shed His blood for the remission of sins (*S. Mark* xiv. 24; *S. Matt.* xxvi. 28; *S. Luke* xxii. 20), and to give His life 'a ransom for many' (*S. Mark* x. 45; *S. Matt.* xx. 28). True, attempts have been made to discredit the last phrase by scholars who think that the doctrine of the atonement is a post-Christian interpretation of the death of Christ,[1] but in the light of the eschatological evidence, it seems clear that Jesus did believe that He was the hope and salvation of Israel, the Son of Man of the apocalyptic literature destined to become the Lord in glory.[2] Even supposing that He associated Himself with the Isaianic

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[1] Rashdall, op. cit., pp. 49 ff.; Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 8.

[2] Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 374 ff., 388, 353.

Servant as a counsel of despair, His death is still intimately connected with the idea of a vicarious sacrifice offered as a means of redemption (cf. *Isa.* liii).

But the concern of religion is with the super-historical, and once the historical Jesus is apprehended as the Incarnate Lord, He necessarily becomes also the Divine Mediator, fulfilling as the ultimate Eternal Reality in the redemptive process all the previous pictures and instruments of reconciliation. In Him the Godhead lived, suffered, and died as Man to give a new measure of human freedom and union with God. By the Eternal Son taking upon Himself the consequences of sin in our human nature, He became—

> the Paschal Lamb of a new deliverance, and the High Priest of a new and unchangeable dispensation. At each point where the old order offers an anticipatory suggestion, that suggestion is taken up, heightened and transformed to provide language through which the mediator of the New Order can be interpreted. In the Epistle to the Hebrews a new turn is given to that interpretation. There the whole Christian scheme of mediation is set upon a Platonic background. It is suggested that Christ and His mediatorial action belong to an eternal order of reality, whose passing shadows appeared by anticipation in the Old Testament dispensation.[1]

The work thus begun continues because mankind needs a Leader, and the human will requires reinforcement. As the 'second Adam' Christ is the Head of the new race, in Whom we have redemption, and Who has become 'in us the hope of glory.' In contrast to the rest of humanity, His will was in perfect harmony with the will of God, and so He lived in complete correspondence with spiritual values. 'My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me,' was His motto. At every stage in His life He was faced with alternatives, but being tempted in all points like as we are, He set Himself to restore the will of man to a right relationship with God through His own struggles. It was this creative will to undo evil and its consequences that constitutes His redemptive work. If in the subconscious there is stored up the memories of our primeval experiences, it is possible that we start life

[1] Thornton, *The Incarnate Lord*, p. 185.

with perverted instincts, but in any case we are inheritors of a social tradition that has gone wrong.

In this fallen condition man could never fulfil his true vocation, but Christ as the Image of God in human terms revealed what human nature essentially is and what he can be. He was not content merely to unmake the past, but to start as it were a 'new race,' a regenerated humanity, to enable man to realize the true spiritual purpose of his creation. He did not explain exactly how the human will had become perverted, or why God allowed evil to exist, though unquestionably He realized that sin and suffering emanated from a personal evil will, a concept which He interpreted in terms of the Hebrew doctrine of the Satan. He knew that behind the demonological ideas current in His day there lay mysterious spiritual realities, and so He waged war on the impalpable hosts of evil (*S. Mark* i. 23, 32, ; iii. 22–30 ; vi. 7, 13). He shouldered the burden of the suffering that is caused by sin, and re-made man by taking upon Himself human nature in its entirety, thereby becoming involved in 'the web of evil which generations have woven,' just because He has part in those generations. God Who is the Good was crucified by evil in the person of our humanity, and out of His death life and hope spring forth eternally. Thus, in the words of Dr. Streeter, 'in the Cross of Christ we catch, focussed in one vivid moment, the eternal quality of Creative Life.'[1] So S. Paul could cry triumphantly, in the language of his day, 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'

Christianity may not be able to supply a completely satisfactory philosophical and theological explanation of the problem of evil, but it conquered all the rival attempts because it brought God within creation and made Him at once a partaker of human and cosmic suffering, and the sin-bearer. Thus it provided a refuge in time of trouble against which the false optimism of the Stoics and the superficial self-deception of the Epicureans were powerless. As Baron von Hügel says :

> Christianity, without ever a hesitation, from the first and everywhere, refused to hold, or even to tolerate, either the one or the

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[1] *Reality* (London, 1926), p. 232.

other of the two only attempts at self-persuasion which, then as now, possess souls that suffer whilst they have not yet found the deepest. Christianity refused all Epicureanism—since man cannot find his deepest by fleeing from pain and suffering, and by seeking pleasure and pleasures, however dainty and refined. And it refused all Stoicism—since pain, suffering, evil are not fancies and prejudices, but real, very real; and since man's greatest action and disposition is not self-sufficingness or aloofness, but self-donation and love. Christianity refused these theories, not by means of another theory of its own, but simply by exhibiting a Life and lives—the Life of the Crucified, and lives which continually re-live, in their endless various lesser degrees and ways, such a combination of gain in giving and of joy in suffering. Christianity thus gave to souls the faith and strength to grasp life's nettle. . . . It pointed to Jesus with the terror of death upon Him in Gethsemane; with a cry of desolation upon the Cross of Calvary; it allowed the soul, it encouraged the soul to sob itself out. It not only taught men frankly to face and to recognize physical and mental pain, death, and all other, especially all moral evils and sufferings as very real; it actually showed men the presence and gravity of a host of pains, evils, and miseries which they had, up to then, quite ignored or at least greatly minimized. And yet, with all this, in spite of all such material for despair, the final note of Christianity was and is still one of trust, of love, of transcendent joy. It is no accident, but of the very essence of the mystery and of the power of faith, it springs from the reality of God and of His action within men's souls, that, as the nobly joyous last chapters of Isaiah (chap. xl to the end) contain also those wondrous utterances of the man of sorrows, so also the serenity of the Mount of the Beatitudes leads, in the Gospels, to the darkness of Calvary.[1]

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[1] *Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion.* First Series. (London, 1921), pp. 111 ff.

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CHAPTER VII

RESURRECTION AND IMMORTALITY

IF Jesus was in very truth the Incarnate Lord from heaven and the Divine Redeemer, 'it was not possible that He should be holden by death' (*Acts* ii. 24). Therefore the doctrine of the Resurrection on the third day is a reasonable conclusion from the religious conception of the super-historical Christ. But however apparent this may be to-day to those who accept the traditional Faith of Christendom, the women who first bore witness to the empty tomb found that their testimony failed to carry conviction to the rest of the Apostolic company. Nevertheless, paradoxical as it may seem, within the space of a few weeks, these 'idle tales' were being preached by the whole band as the central message of the new revelation. Clearly something very significant must have happened to change their outlook so rapidly.

THE CONCEPTION OF RESURRECTION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

At the beginning of the Christian era the heterogeneous ideas and speculations concerning immortality were in a constant state of flux, and in Palestine the official Jewish doctrine of Sheol had undergone considerable modification since the Exile. With the fuller apprehension of the nature of Yahweh, and the recognition of the apparent triumph of the wicked in this life, it was realized that even those who made their bed in the underworld could not escape the supreme Lord of Creation (*Ps.* xxxix. 3–7 ; lxxiii. 2 ff. ; cxxxix. 7–12 ; *Job* xix. 21–27).[1] Moreover, as this belief in the individual relationship between God and the faithful that transcends even death itself developed, the community as a whole looked more and more towards a time when Yahweh's world of moral order should be established in a new heaven and a new earth. But if the Divine Kingdom must eventually be set up and death abolished (*Isa.* xxiv–xxvii; especially xxv. 7, 8; xxvi. 11–21), the faithful must be destined to live again on earth reinstated in their physical bodies.

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[1] cf. p. 48.

By the time the apocalyptic chapters (xxiv–xxvii) of the composite Book of Isaiah were written, it was definitely asserted that 'the dead shall arise: the inhabitants of the dust shall awake and shout for joy' (*Isa.* xxvi. 19). The apocalyptic literature, as we have seen, was largely a product of the sufferings and persecutions of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C. (though Trito-Isaiah may belong to a rather earlier period) and at such a time the earlier prophecies of the restoration of the nation under the figure of a resurrection (*Ezek.* xxxvii; *Hos.* vi. 1, 2; *Isa.* liii) would have a special significance, and readily be taken up and literalized. Those who had given their lives for their God and His Law, it was felt, would receive some reward hereafter for their steadfastness, and this hope prepared the way for a wider conception of resurrection embracing the wicked as well as the righteous. So it was affirmed that 'Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt' (*Dan.* xii. 2).[1]

This interpretation of immortality in terms of a resurrection betrays some traces of Persian influences, but the doctrine as set forth in Daniel differs from the Mazdean (Iranian) belief in that it is confined to martyrs and apostates, and not the common heritage of all men (cf. *Ps.* xxvi. 14). True, men were beginning to think along wider lines, the mission of the

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[1] The Samaritans, the oldest dissenting Jewish sect, changed the Massoretic text of Genesis iii. 19 to prove the resurrection of the body—'for dust thou art, and unto *thy* dust shalt thou return,' and based their belief in future rewards and punishments on Deuteronomy xxxii.—M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (London, 1925), p. 88.

Suffering Servant being to make many righteous (*Isa.* liii. 11). Again, the unfaithful Israelites were to be destroyed in the valley of Hinnom outside Jerusalem—doubtless the beginning of the idea of Gehenna as a place of torment—and it was but a step to the inference that rewards and punishments will be meted out to all at the final scene when 'the judgement is set and the books are opened.' But though Sheol tended to be thought of as a place of punishment when all men shall be judged by God according to their works (*Enoch* i–xxxvi; especially xxii, *c.* 170 B.C.) it was nevertheless a godless region, whereas in Mazdeism it was the abode of the good and evil deities.[1] Therefore the assertion that the apocalyptics derived their doctrine of the last things from Mazdeism has to be treated with very much reserve, for, to say the least, the borrowings are as yet unproven.

Similarly, while the Greek culture certainly penetrated Judaism from the third century B.C., the Hellenic conception of the immortality of the soul (ψυχή), and the philosophical speculations regarding transmigration, made little impression on the Hebrew doctrine. No doubt the Psalmist's view of an after-life independent of an earthly kingdom was strengthened by the nation's intercourse with Greek thought, and the Alexandrian-Jewish writers may have borrowed from this source the idea of the soul as naturally immortal.[2] But the doctrine of the resurrection of the body belongs essentially to Hebrew psychology. The cold intellectual theory of Plato and Aristotle, that that which survives death is merely the power of abstract thought, the divine principle of pure intelligence which is absorbed into the divine mind, made no appeal apparently to the later Jews, who conceived of the continuance of human personality in its entirety.

True, the Sadducees would have nothing to do with this later hope of the resurrection, but they merely maintained the old negative tradition about the future life, denying equally the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, or at least the *authority* of these doctrines (cf. *Acts*

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[1] R. H. Charles, *Eschatology* (London, 1913), pp. 140 f.

[2] Philo, *De Execrat.* 6, 8, 9; Wisd. iii. 1–9; 2 Enoch.

xxiii. 8). The Pharisees, on the other hand, when the apocalyptic movement initiated by the Hasidim reappeared after the Maccabaean revolution, championed the oral Law against the Sadducees, and strenuously affirmed the doctrine of the resurrection of the righteous (1 *Enoch* xc. 30, 32, 38). Some thought that the soul would rise from Sheol to a state of incorporeal blessedness, others believed that the souls of good men were removed into other bodies, while the wicked were punished eternally.[1] It has been suggested that the Pharisees held the doctrine of reincarnation, but, as the late Dr. Glazebrook pointed out, it is more probable that some believed in the assumption of a spiritual body, others in an incorporeal sphere of blessedness.[2]

THE CONCEPTION OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Be this as it may, clearly the time was ripe in the Graeco-Roman world at the dawn of the Christian era for the proclamation of the resurrection to eternal life in terms intermediate between the Greek theory of the survival of the soul as a disembodied spirit, and the Jewish notion of the re-animation of the physical body. And it was at this psychological moment that Christ emerged with His message of Resurrection and the Life. Starting from the current beliefs concerning immortality and the Messianic Age, He declared Himself the Head of a Divine Kingdom which begins on earth but is consummated in heaven, when the unveiled vision of God will be the reward of the pure in heart (*S. Matt.* v. 8 ff. ; cf. *S. John* iii. 2, 3 ; 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12).[3] This attainment of the Beatific Vision is represented as an endowment of grace, and quite independent of any mechanical devices and efforts prevalent in many of the earlier notions of a physical resurrection, as, for example, in the Ancient Egyptian practice of mummification to render the body imperishable.[1] It transcends the Platonic and Aristotelian conception of immortality by making God Himself Absolute Good, the All-Holy, Eternal Reality behind the universe, and not merely the supreme Reason ; heaven being visualized as a perfect state or city (*Heb.* xii. 22 ff.) with degrees of blessedness (*S. John* xiv. 2), determined by a judgement at the Parousia (*S. Mark* ix. i ; v. 39 ; *S. Luke* xii. 47 f. ; xvi. 22 ; *S. Matt.* xxv. 31, 40, 45 ; vii. 23 ; *S. John* v. 22–27 ; xi. 11).

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[1] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. ix. 14 ; cf. *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3.

[2] M. G. Glazebrook, *The Letter and the Spirit* (London, 1920), pp. 78 f.

[3] cf. Charles, op. cit., p. 395.

It has sometimes been denied that our Lord taught a resurrection of the wicked as well as of the just, but the fate of the unrighteous is clearly set forth in S. Matthew v. 22, 29, 30 ; viii. 12 ; xiii. 42, 50, while in the parable of Dives and Lazarus the apocalyptic notion of a dual hereafter is adopted ; Lazarus dwelling in the abode of blessedness (Abraham's Bosom), and Dives lifting up his eyes in the torments of Hades (*S. Luke* xvi. 19). The use of the word 'Hades' instead of 'Gehenna' would suggest, however, that the parable refers to an intermediate state rather than to the ultimate condition after the 'Day of the Lord' and the Resurrection, since in the apocalyptic literature this abode is represented as passing away at the Judgement to merge into heaven and hell (cf. *Rev.* xx. 14 ; 4 *Ezra* viii. 53 ; 1 *S. Pet.* iii. 18 ff. ; iv. 6 ; 2 *Macc.* xii. 39 ff. ; 1 *Cor.* xv. 29). Nevertheless, the Gospels unquestionably contain references to Gehenna as the final state of the wicked (*S. Mark* ix. 43–48 ; *S. Matt.* viii. 12 ; xxii. 13), which in the Ezra-Apocalypse is pictured as a place of general punishment (vii. 36–38 ; cf. 2 *Chron.* xxviii. 3 ; 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10 ; 1 *Enoch* xxvii. 2, 3).

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES

The eschatological teaching of Christ undoubtedly constitutes a serious difficulty for many people to-day who are accustomed to think in evolutionary terms, but it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that our Lord adopted the apocalyptic belief in the catastrophic advent of a New Age, symbolized under the familiar imagery of wars, famines, earthquakes, darkened sun and moon, falling stars, and shaken heavens, when the Son of Man returns in judgement to establish His kingdom (*S. Mark* xiii; *S. Matt.* xxiv; *S. Luke* xxi. 5 ff.). In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the Church had to deliver its message in the first instance to a nation in which apocalyptic notions played a very prominent part, and that the New Testament was written by men brought up in this atmosphere. It is also significant that the First Gospel, which deals in greatest detail with this aspect of our Lord's teaching, was composed after Jerusalem had fallen, and we may reasonably suspect that the narrative was coloured by the recent happenings. But while making due allowance for this emphasis, and rejecting the view of Schweitzer and his school that the so-called 'Little Apocalypse' of S. Mark xiii. 7, 8, 12, 14, 17–22, 24–27, 30, constitutes the primary message of Jesus,[1] it is scarcely likely that the tradition would have become so very prominent in the Apostolic Church unless Christ did make very definite observations on the subject. Therefore, it seems that the doctrine of a future judgement, with rewards and punishments after death, is an integral part of the Christian Faith.

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[1] cf. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1912), p. 56.

THE RESURRECTION ON THE THIRD DAY

It was not, however, the eschatological discourses which formed the real basis of the Apostolic message of a new hope beyond the grave. As we have observed, after the crucifixion the disciples were in a state of complete dejection and despair, the idea of a triumphant Messiah-King establishing His kingdom with power and great glory being now dead and buried with their Master. They had hoped that it had been He Who should have redeemed Israel, but recent events had entirely banished any such expectations. Then came news of the Empty Tomb which they dismissed at once as hallucination till the evidence at length became established. This is the Gospel picture of the first Easter Day. How far does it correspond with the facts?

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[1] *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, pp. 328 ff.

The earliest documentary evidence is that in I Corinthians xv. 3–8, written about A.D. 55, where S. Paul declares that he received the tradition of the resurrection on the third day from the Church of Jerusalem. While he does not expressly mention the empty tomb, he maintains the doctrinal implications of this aspect of the event, asserting that Christ was buried and rose again 'on the third day according to the Scriptures.' For him the Easter miracle was nothing less than the transformation of the crucified Body into the immortal, incorruptible, and glorified Body of the Risen Lord, Who had triumphed over sin and death. Brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, he must have been familiar with the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and therefore, after his conversion, he interpreted the account of what happened on and after 'the third day' in the light of his own eschatological ideas, and of his experiences on the Damascus road when he encountered Jesus in the way. It seems, then, that it was on the basis of his own spiritual experiences interpreted in the light of the tradition he received at Jerusalem that he systematized the doctrine of the resurrection in terms of a super-historical theology.

Turning to the Gospel narratives for the evidence of what is alleged to have taken place after the crucifixion, the Synoptic records all stress the finding of the empty tomb by the astonished women (*S. Mark* xvi. 8; *S. Luke* xxiv. 3; *S. Matt.* xxviii. 6), though there are discrepancies of detail in their descriptions of the incident. In the subsequent record of the appearances of the Risen Lord, the variations become more pronounced. From S. Luke it would appear that Jesus made Himself known to the disciples exclusively in or near Jerusalem, the Ascension occurring on Easter Day (*S. Luke* xxiv. 50–53), in contradistinction to Acts i. 2 f. and S. Mark xvi. 7 f. Westcott and Hort explain S. Luke xxiv. 51 as a 'Western non-interpolation,' but, as Streeter has pointed out if the words, 'He was taken up into heaven,' represent an assimilation from Acts i. 2, it is 'an assimilation of an incredibly unskilful kind' since it contradicts the account of the forty days.[1] It therefore seems more reasonable to suppose that in the interval between the writing of the Gospel and the Acts, the author discovered a fresh cycle of tradition which he inserted in the Acts to correct his former statement. 'In that case the omission of the words in S. Luke xxiv. 51 is an attempt to remove a contradiction between the Gospel and the Acts.'[2]

The appearances in Galilee (*S. Mark* xvi. 7; *S. Matt.* xxviii. 10, 16), and S. Paul's record of five hundred brethren having seen the Risen Lord at once (1 *Cor.* xv. 6), suggest that we are dealing with different traditions derived from various sources artlessly described as they were remembered by the eye-witnesses. If the events really happened they must have caused those who beheld them a considerable emotional reaction, and in the circumstances precise details would naturally become obscured. The fact that no attempt has been made to reconstruct the situation with historical precision to remove inaccuracy, and the absence of embellishments customary in legendary accounts of supernatural happenings, is testimony to the truth of the traditions. A comparison of the vivid, straightforward story of the walk to Emmaus in Proto-Luke with the account of the resurrection in the second century apocryphal 'Gospel of S. Peter,' derived from Gnostic sources, reveals the contrast between sober history and myth.[3] Moreover, amid all the discrepancies there emerges a substantial agreement that the tomb was empty on the third day, while the subsequent events described in the Judaean and Galilaean traditions are not mutually exclusive.

Granting that various versions of the appearances were extant, it is reasonable to suppose that each evangelist selected such material as was at his disposal which would best serve his purposes. Thus, as Dr. Selwyn says, 'S. Luke is concerned with those appearances whose primary meaning lay in their testimony of the Lord's resurrection. S. Matthew, in the majestic conclusion of his Gospel, lays the emphasis rather on the world-wide vocation to which the Risen Lord now called His disciples. The Fourth Gospel, as its manner is, combines the two, and brings out in unmistakable fashion the dominant significance of each series.'[1] The Marcan narrative ends abruptly with a prediction of the Galilaean tradition, but Streeter's suggestion that the appendix to the Fourth Gospel is based on the 'lost ending' of S. Mark seems highly improbable,[2] the style and purpose of the two accounts being so utterly different.

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[1] *The Four Gospels* (London, 1926), p. 142.

[2] ibid., p. 143.

[3] cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 92 ff.; P. Gardner-Smith, *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxvii, 1926, pp. 255 ff., 401 ff.

THEORIES CONCERNING THE RESURRECTION

For our present purpose, however, it is the actual resurrection on the third day that is of fundamental importance rather than the later Galilaean appearances to the disciples vouchsafed to impart a fuller revelation of the Risen Lord. It is here that the evidence is most convincing, and it gives an adequate reason for the otherwise inexplicable sudden change in attitude and outlook of the Apostles. If the tomb was not found to be empty when it was visited by the women on Easter morning, they must have borne false witness which could have been easily contradicted by the production of the body. The 'theft theory' (recorded in *S. Matt.* xxviii. 13), besides being clean contrary to all the evidence concerning the character of the Apostles, is quite inadequate to explain their transformation from a spiritless group of disconsolate people, 'slow of heart,' into ardent and fearless preachers of the Gospel of the Resurrection. Had they stolen away the corpse, they would have realized that the less said about the empty tomb the better.

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[1] *Essays Catholic and Critical*, p. 311.

[2] Streeter, op. cit., pp. 335 ff., 352 ff.; cf. Rawlinson, *S. Mark* (London, 1925), p. 268.

X It is nothing of the sort.

Equally futile is the notion, revived recently by Kirsopp Lake,[1] that the women went to the wrong grave, and were there directed to the place where the Lord lay by a young man whom they supposed to be an angel. More plausible is the explanation urged from time to time that our Lord swooned on Good Friday afternoon and that He recovered on the third day under the influence of the cool air of the tomb and the aromatic spices used in His embalmment. This, however, is contrary to all the documentary evidence since it is impossible to eliminate the empty tomb from the narratives, and if the accounts of the appearances have any basis in fact at all, they presuppose a transformation of the crucified body into a 'spiritual body' having properties peculiar to the resurrection condition. Furthermore, the circumstances of the death of Christ, such as the flowing of blood and water from the wound in the side, leave little room for doubt concerning the reality of His decease.[2] Similarly, the undisturbed grave-cloths, if the evidence of the Fourth Gospel is here to be trusted,[3] hardly admit of any interpretation other than that of an actual resurrection (*S. John* xx. 6–8), while the walk to Emmaus is inexplicable on a swoon theory, as such a journey could never have been undertaken in a condition of weakness such as must have resulted from the experience.

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Finally, it has been suggested that the appearances were in the nature of visions resulting from the overwrought feelings of the disciples, and comparable to S. Paul's experience on the road to Damascus.[4] In its original form, as it was maintained by Strauss and Renan, this theory reduces the phenomena to purely psychological abnormalities devoid of any objective reality, and fails to account for the empty tomb. On the other hand, it is capable of statement in a form which does not conflict with the theological doctrine. Thus, Dr. Selwyn has recently put forth the hypothesis that the disciples were vouchsafed 'veridical visions' of the glorified Christ involving mystical rather than sensible perception.[1] This implies an occurrence in the historical order of a fact of transcendent significance concerning the Person of Christ, in other words, the empty tomb ; a real self-manifestation of the Risen Lord revealing His complete victory over sin and death, explained in psychological terms.

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[1] Kirsopp Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 246–53.

[2] W. Stroud, *Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*.

[3] H. Latham, *The Risen Master*.

[4] This may have been added to contradict the assertion of S. Matt. xxvii. 64; cf. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, *Resurrection and Modern Thought*, pp. 100 ff.

THE RESURRECTION AND MODERN THOUGHT

This interpretation of the evidence as invisible appearances of the real presence of Christ mediated through spiritual perceptions, will doubtless appeal to many modern minds, but others will feel perhaps that, in the light of our new knowledge of the physical universe and of matter, the solution lies in a particular relationship of flesh and spirit. On this view the risen body will be thought of as having become the absolute vehicle of spirit, and therefore no longer subject to the limitations of the flesh. Since we now regard matter as built up by electrons resolving themselves into atoms, which combine to produce molecules, the kinetic energy behind all physical phenomena is shown to be capable of assuming different forms. The energy of coal, for instance, can be converted into heat, which in turn becomes mechanical energy, such as is manifested in the steam-engine. Moreover, matter and organisms are but selective forms of bio-chemical processes, an organism having the power to direct its energies to some definite end, so that relatively permanent species are built up. It is possible that something analogous to this happened in the spiritual sphere when the crucified Saviour passed into the resurrection state as the Risen Lord.

The renewal of life in a dead body presupposes a divine intervention transcending the physical factors known to natural science, but, granting the theological propositions involved in the doctrine of the resurrection, the resultant phenomena, though outside the domain of biological investigation, are not contrary to a scientific view of man and the universe. The 'body' as the permanent and indestructible entity of the personality, is not only a particular assemblage of matter, but an organism composed of a multitude of electrons perpetually changing and giving rise to other generations, like waves on the sea. Such a living cell is constantly dividing and growing, independently of the particular atoms which at any given moment happen to constitute its architecture. The outward structure of such an organism—the 'physical body'—is of no permanent consequence compared with the transcendental principle which gives it life and preserves its continuity. Now if it be granted that behind the revolving electrons of the universe there is God, this permanent organizing principle of continuity manifest in the natural order belongs to a higher order of reality beyond the world of our experience. It will form for itself an organism suited to its environment, but it will not be bound by any particular bodily structure.

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[1] *Essays Catholic and Critical*, pp. 296 ff.

Electrons, atoms, and molecules combine in various ways to produce new substances, while radio-active elements are capable of spontaneous change, uranium becoming radium, and radium passing through a number of forms till finally it becomes lead. Moreover, in addition to this continual breaking-down into simpler elements, and building-up into more complex forms, radio-active substances penetrate 'opaque' bodies. There is therefore nothing inherently unscientific in the supposition that when our Lord's body passed into the spiritual state the system of atoms and electrons composing the new structure could behave in a way in which matter is known to behave under certain circumstances in the natural order.

THE ASCENSION

Even the closing mystery of the 'Ascension,' though expressed in geocentric terms, merely implies that the Risen Lord was ultimately received triumphantly into the sphere of the divine glory, thereby securing His victory over time and space as well as over sin and death. The Semitic notion of a geographical heaven is incidental to the metaphor of the real mystery, which is more intimately connected with the phenomenon known as the Transfiguration (*S. Mark* ix. 2–8) than with any particular theory of the universe. In both cases doubtless a symbolical meaning was early read into what actually happened, but, as Miss Evelyn Underhill says, 'in the present state of the evidence, a definite rejection of these narratives is as unscientific as the most pious credulity.'[1] Under the symbolism of elevation, Jesus, Who had already attained to the spiritual state, was exalted and glorified with divine sovereignty 'at the right hand of God.' From this moment His earthly career ended, and consequently He no longer went in and out among the disciples. But though His visible presence was permanently removed from them, He reigned as the supreme Head of His kingdom on earth, as a Prince and a Saviour. In His death and rising again, His followers saw an 'earnest of their own resurrection at the last day,' and it was upon this belief that S. Paul founded his doctrine of immortality.

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THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY

That the Apostle was acquainted in some measure with the mystery dramas representing the death and resurrection of Dionysos, Attis, Adonis, Persephone, and Osiris is highly probable. Thus his simile of the grain of wheat (1 *Cor.* xv. 37 f.) is suggestive of the vegetation rituals in which Osiris is represented with stalks of corn springing from his body.[2] His interpretation of the symbol, however, bore no resemblance to the Mystery conception. Having seen Jesus alive, he believed that He must soon come again with power and great glory to gather the elect unto Himself. Thus in his earlier epistles (notably 1 and 2 Thessalonians) he refers to the

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[1] *The Mystic Way* (London, 1913), pp. 116 ff.

[2] Breasted, op. cit., p. 23; Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, v. 8 (Göttingen, 1859), p. 162.

Parousia as very near, and when the Lord appears, the dead in Christ will rise first, and the living will be caught up to meet Him in the air (1 *Thess.* iv. 17). But the wicked will go to eternal destruction (2 *Thess.* i. 9). In the Epistles to the Corinthians he still regards the Parousia and the Final Judgement as synonymous events (1 *Cor.* i. 7, 8), but he distinguishes 'the body that shall be' from the 'bare grain' or 'earthly tabernacle' destined to be dissolved (1 *Cor.* xv. 37 f.; 2 *Cor.* v. 1–4). When the corruptible body puts on incorruption, the psychical body (ψυχικός) becomes, he thinks, a spiritual body (πνευματικός) adapted to the needs of the spirit like the Risen Body of Christ (1 *Cor.* xv. 35 f.; cf. *Rom.* viii. 11) since 'flesh and blood cannot inherit incorruption' (1 *Cor.* xv. 50). But, as in the later Old Testament doctrine of immortality, there is a continuity between the natural and the spiritual body, the 'earthly tabernacle' being 'clothed upon, that mortality may be swallowed up of life.' In the process of the mortal body putting on immortality 'we shall all be changed,' but change implies an element of permanence and continuity comparable to the continuity in the seed sown and the germinating seedling springing up from it. The analogy, of course, is not complete because actually the seed does not die, but S. Paul apparently was not conscious of this discrepancy. ??

In enunciating the doctrine of immortality in these terms, the Apostle set forth a conception of the hereafter intermediate between the Greek theory of the survival of the soul as a disembodied spirit, and the Jewish notion of the reanimation of the physical body. Starting from the Pharisaic belief in an assumption of a reanimated spiritual body, he saw in the resurrection of Christ both the complement of His victorious death and the earnest of the rising again of the faithful. His simile of the continuity of the seed and the seedling in relation to human immortality, may be hardly convincing to-day, and many will doubtless agree with Professor Hodgson in thinking it wiser in the present state of our ignorance of the precise nature of either physical or spiritual entities to refrain from any definition of 'body' and its relationships in various states of environment.[1] But in postulating an hereafter in which the individual takes his place in a real body which is the perfect instrument and expression of spirit, a body entirely subservient to the requirements of the emancipated spirit (1 *Cor.* xv. 44 f.; *Rom.* viii. 11), Christianity has given the most satisfying conception of immortality that the history of religion has produced. As Mr. Macintyre has said :

> It was a great idea, born of a great faith, and fulfilling the scientific principle that life will always form for itself an organism suited to its environment. We, no more than Paul, know what the 'spiritual body' connotes, but our faith answers to his that the new life in Christ knows no break, that to it 'God giveth a body as it hath pleased Him,' and we need no other.[2]

In Christ the climax of human personality is reached. Through countless ages the human organism has been fashioned as it were in secret till at length it has attained self-consciousness and an ever-widening power of self-expression. But unless the human soul is to be for ever subjected to the limitations of time and space—and in this case it is difficult to understand why man reaches out towards higher realities above and beyond these limitations—this process of evolution cannot be confined to its present modes of expression. In the resurrection of our Lord we catch a glimpse of the ultimate end of the struggle for existence. 'It is not yet made manifest what we shall be, we know that if He shall be made manifest, we shall be like Him' (1 *S. John* iii. 2 f.). Therefore, as the Cross has been adopted as the sign of divine forgiveness, so throughout Christendom the Empty Tomb has been regarded as a proof that death could not hold the Lord of Life. Thus, in the power of His resurrection, men have gone forth with renewed confidence as citizens of a redeemed world beyond that of time and space.

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[1] *And was made Man* (London, 1928), p. 124.

[2] R. G. Macintyre in *Immortality*, edited by Sir J. Marchant (London, 1924), p. 99.

what sign of its redemption? It is probably more in need of redemption now than it was 2000 years ago.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AND THE MINISTRY

THE rise and continued existence of the Church with its ministry, organization, and its worship on the first day of the week, constitutes a permanent witness to the fact of the resurrection ; and since an effect demands a cause, Christianity as a historical phenomenon is very difficult to explain if Christ did not rise from the dead on the third day. Not only has the Church always attributed its origin to this event, and rested its claims on the sovereign lordship of the *living* Christ, but from the beginning it deliberately selected the first day of the week for its devotional observances. As the New Israel and Messianic Kingdom, the Christian society grew out of the Judaic theocracy, the new tenants of the old inheritance (*S. Mark* xii. 1–12) adapted and modified their traditional ways and beliefs accordingly. Thus the things that Jesus began to do and to teach were continued in the Church as the fulfilment of the Old Law.

THE DISPENSATION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

This new dispensation is affirmed to have been initiated by the outpouring of the Paraclete at Pentecost in accordance with the promise made by the Risen Christ before the Ascension (*Acts* i. 5 ; ii. 1–5). Throughout His ministry, our Lord lived and worked 'in the power of the Spirit,' but it is the Hebrew rather than the Christian doctrine of the Spirit that is implied in the Gospel narratives. A new outpouring of the Spirit of Yahweh was expected in post-exilic Israel (1 *Macc.* iv. 46 ; ix. 27 ; xiv. 41), which in the Wisdom Literature was connected either with the concept of the

'Wisdom' or of the 'Word.' There was, however, also the notion of an indwelling divine Spirit in the cosmos and in man (*Ps.* cxxxix. 7) which tended on occasions to be personalized (*Isa.* lxiii. 10; *Hag.* ii. 4, 5 LXX; *Wisd.* i. 7). So in the Gospels, Zacharias and Simeon are said to have been 'filled with the Spirit' (*S. Luke* i. 67; ii. 25); Christ was conceived through the operation of this same divine activity (i. 35); and He was led by the Spirit to the wilderness to undergo His temptations (iv. 1). At His baptism the descent of the Holy Ghost (*S. Mark* i. 10 f.) had a twofold significance—the spiritual anointing of the Messiah-King (cf. *Ps.* ii. 7), and of the Suffering Servant (*Isa.* xlii. 1), with whom He identified Himself shortly afterwards in the synagogue at Nazareth when He proclaimed, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me because He hath anointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor' (*S. Luke* iv. 18).

It was the 'Spirit of Yahweh,' however, rather than the Christian conception of 'God the Holy Ghost' that is implied in all these references. Thus in the Fourth Gospel it is definitely stated that 'the Spirit was not yet given because Jesus was not yet glorified' (*S. John* vii. 39). Therefore, after the Ascension the Apostles are represented as waiting for the fulfilment of the promise, 'Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence' (*Acts* i. 5). Consequently the Paraclete is said in Catholic theology to proceed from the glorified and ascended Christ, or from the Father in His new relation to the human race (*S. John* xv. 26; xvi. 7). The Spirit is to lead the Church into all truth, to reveal the new dispensation, and to carry on the work of the Messianic Kingdom when the Master's visible presence is removed (*S. John* xiv. 26 ff.).

There is no mention in the Synoptic Gospels of any instruction on the Holy Spirit having been given to the Apostles before the Resurrection, but the detailed treatment of the subject by the Fourth Evangelist reads uncommonly like a report of the actual teaching of Jesus, either written down at the time or committed to memory. In any case, the

Church seems to have attributed Personality to the divine afflatus from the Day of Pentecost onwards. Thus it was the Spirit Who commanded Philip to join himself to the chariot of the Ethiopian Eunuch (*Acts* viii. 29), and Who told S. Peter that the messengers from Cornelius waited upon him (x. 19). Barnabas and Saul were sent to Seleucia by Him (xiii. 4), and later S. Paul was not suffered by the Spirit to go into Bithynia (xvi. 7). It was the same Divine Personality Who bore witness with the Apostles before the Sanhedrin, and His activities constituted the 'fellowship of the Holy Ghost,' or mystic union with God through Christ mediated by or in the Holy Spirit (*Eph.* ii. 18). Thus He is represented as incorporating the human race into the new Israel—the Mystical Body of Christ—wherein His gifts operate.

THE PRIMITIVE CONCEPTION OF THE CHURCH

It was this outpouring of the Spirit which was the most vivid experience of the Church of the first generation (*Acts* ii. 17), and it was apparently as the divinely-appointed sphere of His operations that the ecclesiastical society was first conceived (*Acts* xiii. 1 ff.). The expected early return of the Lord in apocalyptic glory to gather together the elect, doubtless reacted against the establishment of a complex organization according to a fixed plan carefully determined in all its minutiae. On the other hand, the Church is represented by the Synoptists as a definite institution with an ordered life and discipline. Thus in the parable of the Vineyard it is the Household of God under new management, the original stewards having proved unfaithful (*S. Mark* xii. 1–12; *S. Luke* xx. 9–18; *S. Matt.* xxi. 33 ff.). For the work of the kingdom the Apostles were trained by their Master (*S. Luke* xii. 41–48), and when they began their separate career after His departure from the world as their visible Head, they attached so much importance to their office that they immediately proceeded to complete their number after the fall of Judas, even before the Paraclete was given (*Acts* i. 15–26).

THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Therefore when the Church first came before the world on the Day of Pentecost it was as an organized body with the Apostles as the official ministers of the Society by virtue of their position in relation to Christ. This constitution seems to have continued until the original fellowship at Jerusalem was broken up, and it became apparent that the Lord delayed His coming. The spread of the Church necessitated a development in organization to cope with the new situation, and almoners were appointed to take charge of the daily distribution of goods to impecunious widows (*Acts* vi. 1–7). It seems that this may have been a temporary measure rather than the institution of a permanent order of deacons, since the term διάκονοι does not occur till the Epistle to the Philippians was written, probably some thirty years later. Moreover, the organization at Jerusalem was peculiar, and, therefore, cannot fairly be taken as typical of the whole Church. The early Church, in fact, was an organism in process of adaptation to a new and changing environment, till at length a settled and standardized system emerged, as the threefold order of bishop, priest, and deacon precipitated out of the puzzling welter of titles applied to the first-century hierarchy.

The main problem in connection with the original government of the Church has always centred in the so-called 'tunnel period' between the Apostolic age and the days of Ignatius. This in great measure has been removed by the extension of the books of the New Testament over a much longer epoch, but we are still left in the dark about the actual steps in the transition. Within these documents an evolution of the ministry can be traced to a certain extent which reaches its climax in the Johannine literature, but it is by no means easy to determine the actual state of things that prevailed immediately after S. Peter, S. Paul, and S. James disappear from the scene.

The distinction between *episcopos* and *presbyter* during the first century has yet to be satisfactorily explained, to say nothing of the precise relation of 'Prophets' and 'Teachers' to the 'Apostles' (1 *Cor.* xii. 28).[1] No scholar would deny to-day that episcopal government was in a fluid state while the Parousia was expected at any minute, or that experiments were tried in various local churches before the norm was reached in the second century. Thus at Jerusalem, where James, the brother of the Lord, ruled as a monarchical bishop, the organization was based on that of the synagogue, with presbyters as a normal part of the constitution (*Acts* xi. 30), and deacons appointed as an emergency measure to act as almoners (vi. 3 ff.). There is no account of the method of the appointment of these presbyters, or of the significance of their office, though it would seem that in the Pauline churches they were a body of some importance (*Acts* xiv. 23), whatever may have been their title, if indeed they had one (cf. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28). S. James, the Lord's brother, though not one of the Twelve, apparently owed his position in the first instance to the prestige of birth in respect of his relationship with Christ, as is suggested by the fact that he was succeeded by his nephew Symeon after A.D. 70. But, notwithstanding the pre-eminence of his position as bishop of the Holy City, the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and the rapid growth of the Gentile Church, prevented anything in the nature of a 'hereditary Caliphate' (to employ the phrase of Harnack) developing in Christianity as in Mohammedanism.[2]

At Antioch, where the first attempt was made to go outside Jewry (*Acts* xi. 20), a different system of government prevailed, ministerial authority being exercised by prophets and teachers (*Acts* xiii. 1 ff.). One of these, S. Barnabas, had been sent thither as a delegate from the Mother-Church at Jerusalem to investigate the situation and report accordingly. There is no indication of how or when S. Barnabas was ordained, if at all, and it is possible that he was one of the seventy sent forth by Christ, and therefore had a direct commission like the Twelve and S. Paul (*Gal.* i. 1). The laying on of hands mentioned in Acts xiii. 3 is clearly a dismissal and not an ordination, but S. Barnabas and his companions were recognized as having Apostolic authority at Antioch. It may be that the prophetic office carried with it a mark of divine appointment, singling a person out as an Apostolic minister 'set in the Church' for a particular function, but, like the Apostolate, without formal delegation through the laying on of hands, though subject to the recognition of the Church.

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[1] cf. Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries* (London, 1910); Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (London, 1929), pp. 72 ff.

[2] Streeter, op. cit., p. 70.

'Elders,' on the other hand, were definitely appointed to take charge of the new churches established by Saul and Barnabas during their first missionary journey (*Acts* xiv. 23). This was doubtless a Pauline innovation necessitated by the increase of Gentile converts (*Acts* xx. 17, 28; *Phil.* i. 1; 1 *Thess.* v. 12 f.), and at first the new office was probably inferior to that of the Apostles and Prophets, though the Elders occupied a more responsible post than the Almoners at Jerusalem. They were, in fact, *episcopoi*, or overseers, and 'deacons' exercising administrative functions, but differing from the Apostles and Prophets in having received their authority from the higher order. The term πρεσβύτερος (elder) is ambiguous, and it is not used in the ten epistles of S. Paul of unquestioned authenticity, but since it seems to denote the administrative episcopo-presbyterate resident in local churches, and was subject to the control of the itinerant Apostle, it corresponds, apparently, roughly to the priesthood of later times.

If we could be certain that the Pastoral Epistles were written by S. Paul in their present form[1] it would be possible to trace the next step in the evolution of the ministry with ease, for in these letters Timothy is represented as having been established at Ephesus by S. Paul, who also sent Titus to Crete with similar episcopal authority to ordain (*Tit.* i. 5), control the Christian teacher (1 *Tim.* i. 3; iv. 1–4; iii. 1–13), maintain the Faith (vi. 20), and drive away false doctrine

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[1] cf. ch. iv, pp. 71 f.

(*Tit.* iii. 10). Here we seem to reach a transitional phase in the development of the episcopate, the presbyter-bishop having independent powers and jurisdiction while still himself subject to Apostolic authority. But if the greater part of the letters belongs to the beginning of the second century,[1] the evidence merely supports the generally accepted fact that the monarchical episcopate prevailed in Asia at this time. It is, however, admitted that Pauline material occurs in the documents even if they were not written by the Apostle exactly as they now stand, though in the present state of expert opinion the evidence cannot safely be made the basis of discussion of Church order in the Apostolic age.

This also applies to the Johannine literature, where we encounter a still further development of the episcopal system. The author of the Second and Third Epistles describes himself as a presbyter (2 *S. John* i. 1 ; cf. 3 *S. John* i) writing, in the case of the third letter to one Gaius in complaint of a certain Diotrephes who had refused to receive the itinerant evangelists associated with the writer, and excommunicated those who were disposed to receive them. Whoever Diotrephes may have been, he appears to have exercised the functions of a monarchical bishop in claiming the right to excommunicate members of the Church (cf. 3 *S. John* ix. 10 f.), and Dr. Streeter is therefore justified in concluding that at the time this epistle was written a mono-episcopal form of government existed in at least one, and probably in several, of the churches in Asia Minor.[2]

Moreover, if the writer was S. John the Elder,[3] we have here the beginning of metropolitan authority, since as the holder of the Mother-see of Ephesus, he clearly assumed precedence over the local bishop. Therefore, by the end of the first century the episcopal office had emerged from the original Apostolic-Prophetic order of the missionary church, and if there is little evidence of a clearly defined threefold ministry perpetuating itself in the earliest period, the general principles of this system appear to have been inherent in the loose organization of the primitive community. It was always from above that authority to minister in the congregation was sought, the Apostles looking to Christ, the Prophets and Teachers to the direct outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and the Presbyter-bishops and Deacons to their Apostolic commission.

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[1] ch. iv, pp. 71. f; cf. Streeter, op. cit., pp. 102 ff.

[2] Streeter, op.cit., p. 85.

[3] ch. iv, p. 76.

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC PERIOD

This becomes more apparent in the next century as the ministry was definitely established on a uniform basis. At the beginning of the second stage in the life of the Church the evidence is still very inconclusive, though, in addition to the material in the New Testament, numerous early Christian writings throw considerable light upon the problem. The first of these documents is the *Didache*, or 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' a manual of Church Order of Jewish origin emanating from Syria and Egypt at the beginning of this period, though the precise date and provenance are still under discussion.[1] In it Apostles and Prophets are linked together, and then Prophets and Teachers as non-local ministers, Presbyter-bishops and Deacons being appointed by the laity to celebrate the Eucharist (xv. 1). A Prophet or a Teacher, unlike an Apostle, might become attached to a particular community, since Prophets had the power to celebrate (though they were not obliged to use the prescribed liturgical formulae), and were regarded as 'high priests' in receipt of 'firstfruits.' Therefore an ambitious man of administrative ability might easily assume the functions of a monarchical bishop in a local church, as in the case of Ignatius at Antioch.

Passing to the West, we have more definite evidence in the writings of Clement of Rome whose Epistle to the Church of Corinth was written in the capital about A.D. 96 in the name of the Christian community as a remonstrance against the ejection of certain Corinthian presbyter-bishops from their office. This was regarded as an affront to the whole Church because it set at naught the divine order of the ministry. Christ was sent from God, it was argued, the Apostles from Christ, and the first Presbyters and Deacons from the Apostles, who had made provision for the continuance of their work after their decease.[1]

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[1] Streeter, op. cit., pp. 279 ff.; *The Four Gospels*, p. 507; Armitage Robinson, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xiii, 1912, p. 329; Gore, *Church and the Ministry* (London, 1889), pp. 251 f.; Harnack, *Die Lehre der Z.A.*, p. 56 n.; A. S. Maclean, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* (London, 1922).

There is still some confusion in the names of those who constituted the Apostolic ministry. Some of the dispossessed presbyters are spoken of as *episcopoi*, and it sometimes seems that deacons also are included, a sharp distinction being made between them and certain persons described as 'rulers' (ἡγουμένοι), who are to be obeyed and honoured (iii. 1), and 'approved' men (δεδόκομασμενοι ἄνδρες) or 'men of repute' (ἐλλογιμοι ἄνδρες), who appoint to the ministry on Apostolic authority (xliv. 2, 3).

Here we have the principle of Apostolic Succession clearly laid down, whatever may be the precise significance of the various titles of the first order of 'rulers,' who transmit the authority derived ultimately from the Apostles. In practice they function as ordaining bishops by virtue of their Apostolic commission, the self-appointed leaders being regarded as arrogant law-breakers acting in direct disobedience to the counsels of God (xiv. 1). For Clement the divinely constituted hierarchy indissolubly bound to the Apostles finds its counterpart in the discipline of the Roman army (xxxvii. 2, 3), and the Jewish threefold system of High Priest, Priests, and Levites (xl. 2–5). These analogies inevitably convey the idea of a divinely appointed succession of Rulers, Presbyters, and Deacons. This may not have actually emerged as a formal hierarchy in his day, but evidently at Corinth, and probably at Rome, something very like it was coming into existence, though the office of the individual bishop may not have evolved.

From the document called *The Shepherd*—a strange book of visions written in Rome early in the second century by Hermas[1]—it would appear that the situation Clement desired to see established at Corinth was actually in vogue in Rome about this time. The Church is here represented as governed by Rulers and Presbyter-bishops organized on the lines of a synagogue (*Vis.* ii. 4; iii. 9, 7). Thus, as the synagogue was governed by the Elders, so Prophets occupied a subordinate position, and Hermas, who was a minor Prophet, only secured a seat among the Elders with difficulty. But, nevertheless, if the government was in the hands of the presbyterate, there was still a superior order of Rulers, as in S. Clement's constitution. This suggests an Apostolic background to the ministry at Rome as at Corinth, though up to this time the emphasis was laid on continuity of office rather than on consecration to office.

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[1] Clement, *ad Cor.* xl–xliv.

Conversely, in the Ignatian Letters, written by the famous second Bishop of Antioch on his way to martyrdom at Rome about A.D. 115, the stress is laid on the individual bishop as the centre of unity, and the source of all ministerial grace, instead of on succession. 'The bishop presides after the likeness of God and the presbyters after the likeness of the councils of the Apostles,'[2] and 'wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the Catholic Church.'[3] 'He that honoureth the bishop is honoured of God,'[4] and apart from the bishops, presbyters, and deacons 'there is not even the name of a Church,'[5] the bishop being essential to a valid Eucharist.[6]

Ignatius was undoubtedly a 'Romanizer,' for he saw in the Church of the capital the ideal 'worthy of God, worthy of honour, worthy of felicitations, worthy of praise, worthy of success, worthy in purity, and having the presidency in love, walking in the law of Christ.' Evidently he regarded the Epistle of Clement as reflecting the organization of the Roman community since he refers to this Church as 'the instructor of others,' and while his own conception of the episcopate was not identical with that of the Bishop of Rome, it was really a development of it, in the direction of the monarchical rule of the single bishop. His theory was revolutionary, it is true, but it was in line with the teaching of Clement in so far as both looked upon the Apostles as the pillars of the Church, and the rightful governors of the household of God,[1] corresponding to the priests, patriarchs, and prophets of the Old Law. The contrast is only in the localization of the Apostolic authority.

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[1] The Muratorian Fragment makes it the work of the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, *c.* A.D. 139–154, but the mention of Clement (*Vis.* ii. 4, 3) suggests an earlier date, as, according to Eusebius, Clement died in A.D. 101. cf. Campbell Bonner, *Harvard Theological Review*, xviii, April, 1925, pp. 115 ff.; W. J. Wilson, op. cit., xx, January, 1927, pp. 21 ff.

[2] *Magn.* vi. 1.

[3] *Smyrn.* viii. 2.

[4] ibid., ix. 1.

[5] *Trall.* iii. 1.

[6] *Smyrn.* viii; *Eph.* ii–vi, xx; *Trall.* ii, iii; *Philad.* iii, iv.

The establishment of monarchical episcopacy, for which Ignatius contended so vigorously, did not become universal till the middle of the second century. Not only does Ignatius omit any mention of a bishop at Philippi, but Polycarp in writing to the Church there about A.D. 116 indicates an organization consisting of presbyters and deacons only. It was not till the end of the century that we encounter the diocesan episcopate fully in possession, in the writings of Irenaeus, where 'the tradition derived from the Apostles of the great, ancient, and famous church founded and organized at Rome,' as it is alleged, 'by the two most notable Apostles, Peter and Paul,' is the argument employed to confound all heretics.[2] As an illustration of the Succession, the Roman bishops are enumerated from Linus to the Apostles. The emphasis here is laid on the continuity of office from one occupant of the see to another, rather than on the actual consecration of each individual, as the guarantee of the preservation of the Apostolic Faith. In other words, it is not so much transmission of the grace of Orders as the continuity of doctrine that Irenaeus stressed, though episcopal government is also implied in his hypothesis.

Tertullian a few years later (*c.* A.D. 199) also made the

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[1] Clement, *ad Cor.* v; Ignatius, *Rom.* iv; *Trall.* iii.

[2] *Adv. Haer.* iii. 3, 2 f.

Apostolic Succession the basis of his argument in confuting heretics, challenging them to 'unroll the line of their bishops, running down in such a way from the beginning that the first bishop shall have had for his originator (*auctorem*) and predecessor one of the Apostles' fellowship. This is the way in which Apostolic churches report their origins: thus the church of the Smyrnaeans relates that Polycarp was installed by John, the church of the Romans relates that Clement was ordained by Peter. Just so in like manner the rest of the churches exhibit the names of the men appointed to the episcopate by Apostles, whom they possess as transmitters of the Apostolic seed.'[1]

This view is based on the contention of Irenaeus, but it runs through Tertullian's controversy with the Gnostics,[2] though in later life, after he had become a Montanist, he (Tertullian) regarded the Apostolic ministry as inferior to and surpassed by the new prophetic outpouring of the Spirit.[3] But this change of theological outlook does not affect his testimony to the fact that from the latter part of the second century the episcopal organization and succession was definitely accepted as the norm of Church Order. What is less certain, however, is the way in which Apostolic authority was actually transmitted, and what was the relationship of the two Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, to the Church in Rome, a question upon which Irenaeus and Tertullian are by no means in agreement, as will be seen by the quotations given above.

ORDINATION

In the New Testament laying on of hands is mentioned in the ordination of the original Almoners (*Acts* vi. 6), and again in the case of the consecration of Timothy (1 *Tim.* iv. 14; 2 *Tim.* i. 6), but it would seem that as the Apostles derived their commission direct from Christ, and the Prophets from the Holy Spirit, so it was continuity of office rather than consecration that was the really essential thing in the

[1] *De Praescr.* 32.

[2] *Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

[3] *De Virg. Vel.* i.

sub-apostolic period. It is not until the fourth century that descriptions of ordinations occur in the early literature, and then the function of delegating ministerial authority is exercised with unquestioned right by the bishop. As Christ appointed the Apostles, and the Apostles their delegates, so in their turn they transmitted that which they had received to those duly selected to succeed to their office. It may be conjectured that the method adopted was the Apostolic custom of the laying on of hands with prayer since this is the only manner of ordination of which we have any record. The most ancient formula extant is in a work by Hippolytus, miscalled 'The Egyptian Church Order,' it being really a recension of *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus written about A.D. 220.[1] In it the people are exhorted to assemble with the presbyters and bishops on the Lord's Day, and when all have given their consent, to lay their hands on the candidate. 'After which let one of the bishops present, at the request of all, laying his hand on him pray' for the gift of the Spirit.

All the Church Orders of the fourth and fifth centuries—the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Ethiopic Church Order*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the *Arabic Didascalia*—agree in making imposition of hands with appropriate prayer the method of ordination, though the 'Egyptian' recension admits an exception in the case of freemen who suffered in the persecutions. But this custom of treating perspective martyrs and confessors as presbyters or deacons became an abuse, and with the cessation of persecution it disappeared altogether. It was never allowed as a qualification for the episcopate and when the diocesan system was established in the third century the office of the Bishop was distinguished from that of the priesthood in the matter of the throne and ordination, as the *Canons of Hippolytus* state (*c.* A.D. 330), 'for the power of ordaining is not committed to the latter.'

Jerome, it is true, after he broke with the Church in Rome in A.D. 385, maintained that the only thing that a bishop does other than a presbyter is to ordain.[1] 'Laying on of hands,' he says, 'are mystical words, by which the selected man is confirmed for his work, receiving authority, so that he should venture in the Lord's place to offer sacrifice to God.' 'All orders are in the bishop,' who is also the complete priest, and in a sense Jerome's implication is correct that the separation of the 'bishop' from the 'presbyter-bishop' was due to the exigencies of ecclesiastical organization in post-apostolic times. This view certainly was revived by the scholastics in the Middle Ages who looked upon the episcopate and the priesthood as actually grades of one order, so that Roman Catholic theologians generally reckon the complete ministry as a sevenfold system. This is the position adopted by the Council of Trent[2] which accepted the explanation of S. Thomas that the episcopate is one with the priesthood in its ministrations at the altar.[3] Yet the episcopate has a *jurisdiction* denied to the presbyterate, for it was the *presiding* Presbyters who tended to exercise Apostolic functions.

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[1] G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles* (London, 1904), pp. 245, 306 f.

THE PAPACY

Here, however, we are confronted with a problem which goes to the heart of the unhappy divisions of Christendom. Is it part of the original plan of the ministry that the President of the Episcopal College at Rome holds by divine right the government of the whole Church in his jurisdiction? By virtue of his office, it is asserted, the Bishop of Rome is Sovereign Pontiff of the entire Church, *episcopus episcoporum*, the sole fountain of authority, and the infallible teacher of all Christians, having the power to set forth *ex cathedra* statements in all matters relating to faith and morals, irreformable and therefore binding for all time on the observance of the faithful. These far-reaching claims as now interpreted by Roman Catholic theologians and decrees are based ultimately on the hypothesis that S. Peter was the first Bishop of Rome, upon whom, it is supposed, our Lord conferred sovereign executive, judicial, legislative, and teaching rights over the entire Church, so that the Divine Society is coterminous with the jurisdiction of the Holy See, outside the limits of which there can be no security of salvation. This vicegerency of Christ being inherent in the Papacy through its Petrine descent, it is conferred by election to and installation in the Pontifical chair, and not transmitted by the laying on of hands.

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[1] *Ep.* cxlvi; cf. lxix.

[2] Sess. xxiii, cap. 2.

[3] *Suppl.* xl. 5

Since this aspect of the Church and the ministry rests in the last analysis on the position of S. Peter in the Apostolic fellowship, it is of the utmost importance to examine, in the cold light of history, the facts at our disposal. According to Irenaeus the See of Rome was founded and organized by 'the two most notable Apostles, Peter and Paul,'[1] but Tertullian, who had read Irenaeus, affirms that Clement was appointed first Bishop of Rome by S. Peter.[2] A third ancient tradition maintains that S. Peter founded the church in Antioch and became its first bishop,[3] a reminiscence of which still survives in the annual commemoration of S. Peter's Chair at Antioch on February 22nd, with appropriate references in the Breviary lections to the Apostle's position in that city. It would seem, then, that there was some doubt in the early Church concerning the precise relationship of S. Peter to the Roman bishopric, before the tradition had acquired a doctrinal significance in the West.

That S. Peter was in Antioch is recorded in Galatians ii. 11ff., and he may also have preached at Corinth (1 *Cor.* i. 12). He visited Cornelius in Caesarea (*Acts* xi. 11), though the Church was established there by Philip (*Acts* viii. 40). Beyond this very meagre information we have little to guide us in the New Testament concerning his movements except the references to his whereabouts in the First Epistle bearing his name. Unfortunately, however, as we have seen, the question of authorship is here very uncertain; and even if it be supposed that the letter in its present form was written by S. Peter, it has to be decided whether Babylonia refers to Rome or the ancient capital on the Euphrates,[1] before this evidence can be brought to bear on our present problem. Origen thought that the Apostle preached in the districts mentioned in the opening words of the Epistle, and this became the general opinion of early writers,[2] but there is nothing in the actual letter to confirm this surmise, just as the association of Babylon with Rome is merely a guess based on the mystical figure used in the Apocalypse.[3]

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[1] *Adv. Haer.* iii. 3.

[2] *De Praescr.* 32.

[3] Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* i; cf. Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 36; Jerome, *De Virg. Ill.* i; Chrysostom, *Hom. in Inscr. Act.* 2; cf. Gal. ii. 11 ff.

In short, it must be admitted that there is no conclusive evidence in the New Testament that S. Peter was ever officially connected with the capital. If he had been there, it is strange that S. Paul does not refer to him in his Epistle to the Romans since it was sent to Rome in the middle of the alleged episcopate. He mentions, it is true, that the foundations of the church there had been laid by 'another man' (*Rom.* xv. 20), but it is a mere conjecture to assert that this refers to S. Peter,[4] particularly as there is no actual proof of his having even resided in the city. The abundant references to his associations with the capital in the apocryphal literature would be more convincing in establishing a probability in favour of the Petrine tradition were it not the general custom in the early Church to assign Apostolic origin to the more prominent local communities. Under these circumstances it would be only natural when he came to be regarded as the Prince of the Apostles to connect him with the Church in the capital, and to couple his name with that of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Firmly established traditions cannot lightly be set aside as evidence, but they need to be treated with caution. It is also well to remember that ancient authors did not treat historical questions with the same care and accuracy as is customary among scholars to-day. Thus Irenaeus, though on the whole a reliable source of information, is not an infallible guide at all times since he solemnly declared that S. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew 'while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome'![1] It does not follow, of course, because one statement is incorrect that the other is inaccurate, but it nevertheless puts the historian on his guard in dealing with this material.[2] Furthermore, confidence is not restored when it is recorded that S. Paul in the Epistles of Timothy makes mention of Linus whom it is said was appointed Bishop of Rome by the two Apostles.

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[1] cf. ch. iv, p. 74. [2] Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 1. [3] ibid., ii. 15.

[4] Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of S. Paul* (London, 1911), p. 379; G. Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century* (London, 1913), pp. 28 ff.

Irenaeus derived his list of bishops from Hegesippus, a Palestinian convert from Judaism,[3] to whom we owe the first account of S. Peter's sojourn and martyrdom in Rome.[4] The Clementine epistle to Corinth and the Ignatian letters assume the pre-eminence of Rome, but they know nothing about the sovereign rule there either of S. Peter or S. Paul. Clement's knowledge of S. Paul was mainly derived from the New Testament, and he is singularly vague about the latter days of the Apostle, as indeed he is concerning the life and death of S. Peter. If either or both occupied the predominance in the city assigned to them by later traditions, it is unthinkable that a writer living in Rome at the end of the first century should leave us in doubt regarding their position, and especially of that of his predecessor in the 'papal' chair. Actually he says less about S. Peter than about S. Paul, and despite his admiration for the Roman church, he does not stress the relations of the Apostles with this particular community. Similarly Ignatius mentions the two Apostles as rulers, but does not refer to their martyrdom in the capital, or to S. Peter having exercised Apostolic functions there. Moreover, Hegesippus and Irenaeus regard them as the founders rather than the first bishops of the see.

That the church of the pre-eminent city of the Empire should thus select as founders, and duly honour, the two most prominent members of the Apostolic college is understandable enough, as we have pointed out, and it is not difficult to trace the evolution of pontifical sovereignty from the third century, when it became generally thought in the West that the two great Apostles brought Christianity to the centre of the civilized world and died in the capital. The geographical situation of the city and its political significance inevitably gave it a unique position in Christendom, and its international prestige may have suggested to Hegesippus the names of the foremost Apostles as the original founders when he compiled his list of bishops. On the other hand it is possible that he found there a local tradition to this effect. There is no way of knowing exactly how he obtained his information, but in the absence of an earlier chronology, it seems probable that he based his list upon any material that existed, supplementing what was lacking in it by his own speculations. Its adoption by Irenaeus brought it into the general tradition of the Church, and S. Peter and S. Paul were thus placed permanently at the head of the Roman hierarchy.[1]

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[1] *Adv. Haer.* iii. 1, 2.

[2] cf. Streeter, *The Primitive Church*, p. 187.

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 22.

[4] ibid., iv. 22; iii.16.

With the rapidity characteristic of an uncritical age, the theory was universally adopted, each writer reproducing it after his predecessor, sometimes in a slightly modified form, as in the case of Tertullian, who followed the spurious letter of Clement to James (the *Clementine Homilies*) in preference to Irenaeus, and so made Clement instead of Linus the first appointment of S. Peter to the See of Rome.[2] Similarly, in the Middle Ages Rufinus's translation of the apocryphal letter of Clement to S. Peter became the nucleus of the *False Decretals* upon which the papal claims were in those days largely based. Again, Tertullian having described the martyrdom of the two Apostles at Rome under Nero,[3] Origen elaborated the account half a century later.[4] From Eusebius Jerome perpetuated the tradition,[5] and a certain Roman presbyter, Caius, added the site of the actual 'trophies' of the Apostles on the Vatican.[1] During the Valerian persecution, it was said, their bodies were removed to the catacombs of S. Sebastian for safety, and deposited in their respective tombs which were subsequently covered by the church erected to their honour by Constantine.

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[1] Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* iii. 3, 3; Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 6.

[2] *De Praescr.* 32.

[3] ibid., 36; *Scorp.* 15.

[4] Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 1.

[5] *De Virg. Ill.* i.

The stage was now set for the appearance of the Papacy. Situated in the capital of the Empire, and having in its possession the mortal remains of the two Princes of the Apostles, the church of Rome inevitably occupied a unique position in Christendom, and its prestige was increased after the conversion of the Empire to Christianity. The Eternal City automatically became the principal ecclesiastical centre, and since from the days of Clement the Roman community strove to legislate for other churches, having imbibed the Roman spirit of discipline and organization, it readily developed the precedence it had thus gained.

There is no indication, however, of any claim to or acknowledgement of universal sovereignty in the honour paid to it in the literature of the first three centuries. Calixtus (219–33), it is true, appealed to S. Matthew xvi. 18 in support of his jurisdiction as Bishop of Rome, but the relevance of the text was disallowed by Tertullian,[2] and forty years later the Roman Stephen again adduced this reference in his controversy with Cyprian, but the latter rejected its application to an individual Bishop of Rome.[3] In opposing Gnosticism Irenaeus looked to Rome as the most efficiently organized stronghold of the Faith, and therefore quoted it as a pattern of orthodoxy.[4]

Doubtless the struggle with Gnosticism encouraged the growth of the hierarchy,[5] and it gave the Roman church greater pre-eminence as a result of its political and ecclesiastical importance, but there is no suggestion in Irenaeus or any of the contemporary literature of the community or its bishop exercising sovereign rights. Thus when Victor as Bishop

[1] *H. E.* ii. 25.

[2] *De Pudicit.* i. 13, 21.

[3] Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. ii, p. 148.

[4] *Adv. Haer.* iii. 3.

[5] R. Sohm, *Outlines of Church History* (London, 1895), p. 31.

of Rome threatened to excommunicate members of the Asiatic churches in A.D. 190 because they refused to fall into line with Rome concerning the date of Easter, Irenaeus promptly pointed out the unreasonableness of the demand, and made Victor withdraw his threat.[1]

But as the Church in the West became more and more legalized and dominated by its central community, the primacy of Rome developed into an autocratic jurisdiction exercised by divine right. Thus Jerome in his letters to Damasus (375–380) from the East speaks of Rome as the Petrine rock on which Christ founded His Church, and the only Ark of Safety.[2] This doctrine gained considerably by the removal of the Imperial Court to the new capital, thereby leaving the bishop in possession at Rome to develop his social and ecclesiastical prestige and authority. In 451, as the twenty-eighth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon records, 'the Fathers granted privileges to Old Rome because it was the Imperial City. The hundred and fifty most religious bishops (i.e. at the second Council at Constantinople in 381), actuated by the same consideration, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, justly judging that the city which is honoured with the Sovereignty and the Senate, and enjoys equal privileges with the Old Imperial Rome, should, in ecclesiastical matters also, be magnified as she is and rank next after her.'

Here the ecclesiastical privileges granted to Rome by the Fathers are clearly regarded as the natural outcome of its civil importance, and for the same reason the political elevation of Byzantium, renamed Constantinople, led to its being raised in ecclesiastical dignity next after her, as being the New Rome. Leo I (440–461) repudiated the decree (notwithstanding the fact that six hundred bishops had given their consent to it) because he disputed the right of Constantinople to rank with the 'Apostolic' See. But Rome was declining politically before the new Imperial capital, and the Western Empire was threatened with dissolution. Leo realized the implications of the situation, and at once set to work to establish the Church in Rome on the foundations of the declining secular authority. Inheriting the administrative powers of the Empire in its greatest days, it consolidated its position, and after establishing the theory of the Papacy in the city, Leo boldly proclaimed himself the successor of S. Peter, and as such the Vicegerent of Christ on earth.

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[1] Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 24.

[2] *Ep.* 15, *ad Damasum*; Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xxii, p. 356.

Although the Eastern Churches steadfastly refused to accept these claims either in theory or fact, in the West they gradually gained acceptance as the bishops of Rome stepped into the place vacated by the Emperor as a result of his retirement to the new capital. The title of *Pontifex Maximus*, assumed by Constantine and his successors, was appropriated by the Popes, and with it the sovereign rule of Caesar was transferred to the new occupant of the Imperial throne, only instead of claiming its natural descent, the Papacy rested its position on the Petrine tradition and text (*S. Matt.* xvi. 18).

This doubtless appeared to be a sufficiently solid foundation in the fifth century, but despite the amazing superstructure that has been erected on it, the base is historically unsound. As has been demonstrated, the actual origins of the Roman Church are so obscure that it is quite impossible to arrive at any really reliable conclusions concerning the actual beginnings of Christianity in the capital. It is possible that S. Peter, like S. Paul, may have visited and resided in the city, and it is conceivable that both the Apostles died there in the Neronian persecution. The early *graffiti* recently discovered beneath S. Sebastino support this contention, although in the inscriptions precedence is usually given to the Apostle of the Gentiles—*Paule et Petre.* But taking the evidence collectively, if it were an ordinary question to be determined by the normal methods of inquiry, no competent historian would venture to establish a far-reaching hypothesis on the data available. The most that could or can be said with truth under the circumstances is that the tradition may have some foundation in fact, but that the sources of information are insufficient, and of such a nature that no definite conclusion is possible.

This, however, is a very unsatisfactory historical basis for an institution claiming to be infallible to rest upon, especially when there are very strong reasons for explaining the development of the Papacy along other lines without reference to the first century at all, or to any divine command. But the official theory demands that S. Peter was not only in Rome but actually the original bishop of the Holy See, exercising his functions by virtue of the special mandate he received from Christ at Caesarea Philippi (*S. Matt.* xvi. 18). If there is no genuine evidence that the Apostle ever occupied this position, the Petrine text loses its relevance and significance.

THE PETRINE TEXT

As seen in their traditional setting inscribed in huge blue mosaic letters on a gold ground round the Dome of S. Peter's, in the heart of the new Vatican City, the momentous words recorded in the First Gospel as spoken by our Lord to the Prince of the Apostles—'*Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum*'—can hardly fail to be impressive, not to say convincing to those unacquainted with the theological and historical situation. Taken in their literal meaning, and separated from their context in the New Testament as a whole, they suggest a divine stewardship conferred upon S. Peter as the administrator of the New Kingdom, with unique disciplinary powers. But on further examination the issue is not quite as simple as it appears at first sight, and as it is commonly represented in popular exposition.

The gathering at Caesarea Philippi is described by all the Synoptists, but it is only in the latest of the three Gospels that the text occurs, S. Mark (viii. 27–31) and S. Luke (ix. 18–22), making no mention at all of a commission to S. Peter. The same applied to Q and Proto-Luke. It cannot, of course, be inferred from these omissions that our Lord did not utter the words in question, especially as there is no evidence in the manuscripts that the text of S. Matthew is corrupt at this point. The *logion* is clearly a Greek translation of an

Aramaic original incorporated into the First Gospel by the author from his 'special source,' and as such we are not justified either in dismissing it as an accretion, or in treating it as an unquestioned genuine 'saying' having the same authority as the earlier material.

In this particular instance caution is all the more needed in view of the fact that the words are omitted in the Marcan narrative which is usually thought to be in some measure dependent upon S. Peter.[1] It seems incredible that Mark, having been apparently the constant companion of Apostles, possibly of S. Peter (*Acts* xii. 12, 25 ; xv. 37–39 ; *Col.* iv. 10 ; *Philem.* 24 ; 2 *Tim.* iv. 11 ; 1 *S. Pet.* v. 13), and writing in Rome, should not include these momentous words if they were part of the tradition of the Church in the capital in the middle of the first century. If the text had been regarded as having anything approaching the significance attached to it in subsequent ages, it would surely have been included in the 'Petrine Gospel,' and it might be supposed that it would have been known to S. Luke, who was careful to trace the course of all things accurately from the beginning from 'eyewitnesses' and 'ministers of the Word.'

Viewed, then, in the light of modern research, the text, whatever may be its precise meaning, belongs to an isolated tradition (M) discovered by Matthew, and current among the Palestinian school of Jewish Christians at the end of the first century. There is no indication in the New Testament, however, or, as we have seen, in the sub-apostolic period, that it was regarded as having any particular doctrinal significance. Thus before it can be made the basis of a genuine theory of the Church and the ministry in terms of Papal sovereignty instituted by divine command, the ominous omissions in the earliest documents must be explained, and it must be shown how S. Peter exercised pontifical functions as the Bishop of Rome, conferring upon the Holy See the powers he is alleged to have received from his Master.

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[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 39, 15 ; cf. Rawlinson, *S. Mark* (London, 1925), p. xxiii.

There is good reason to believe that Christ appointed a ministry of the Word and Sacraments in His Church (*S. Luke* xii. 41–48) which was transmitted by the Apostles to their successors and so on throughout the ages. At first there was considerable diversity of organization, but as the New Testament took shape through a process of inspirational selection, so the threefold ministry emerged from the original 'fluid' period. But if we attribute the one to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it is difficult to deny His responsibility for the other. The monarchical episcopate was established early in the second century, but there is no real breach of continuity with the Apostolic government since the separation of the presbyter-bishops into a dual order corresponding to the Apostolate and the Presbyterate of former time, is a difference of degree rather than of kind. Of an absolute autocracy, however, centred in S. Peter and his successors, exercising universal jurisdiction, there is no indication in the literature of the primitive Church till it began to absorb the attributes of the Emperor and the Empire especially in the fifth century. Rome, in fact, seems to have been one of the last places to attain to a mature monarchical episcopacy,[1] government in sub-apostolic times being in the hands of a 'College of Presbyters' rather than a Papacy

As a reaction against the subsequent Papal pretensions, the departure from true episcopal government in the West brought into being in the sixteenth century a new form of presbyterian ministry. This again appears to be out of line with primitive custom inasmuch as the Apostle or the Apostolic delegate is eliminated. True, in one sense the diocesan episcopate was evolved from the presbyterate,[2] but even so the body of presbyter-bishops or their 'rulers' had quasi-apostolic authority which ceased in the case of the presbyters when episcopal functions were confined to the bishop. In *The Shepherd*, where we find the nearest approach to a presbyterian system in the early Church, the government is in the hands of the presbyters, but here also there is a higher

[1] cf. Streeter, op. cit., p. 216.

[2] Lightfoot, *Philippians* (London, 1868), pp. 179 ff.

Aramaic original incorporated into the First Gospel by the author from his 'special source,' and as such we are not justified either in dismissing it as an accretion, or in treating it as an unquestioned genuine 'saying' having the same authority as the earlier material.

In this particular instance caution is all the more needed in view of the fact that the words are omitted in the Marcan narrative which is usually thought to be in some measure dependent upon S. Peter.[1] It seems incredible that Mark, having been apparently the constant companion of Apostles, possibly of S. Peter (*Acts* xii. 12, 25; xv. 37–39; *Col.* iv. 10; *Philem.* 24; 2 *Tim.* iv. 11; 1 *S. Pet.* v. 13), and writing in Rome, should not include these momentous words if they were part of the tradition of the Church in the capital in the middle of the first century. If the text had been regarded as having anything approaching the significance attached to it in subsequent ages, it would surely have been included in the 'Petrine Gospel,' and it might be supposed that it would have been known to S. Luke, who was careful to trace the course of all things accurately from the beginning from 'eyewitnesses' and 'ministers of the Word.'

Viewed, then, in the light of modern research, the text, whatever may be its precise meaning, belongs to an isolated tradition (M) discovered by Matthew, and current among the Palestinian school of Jewish Christians at the end of the first century. There is no indication in the New Testament, however, or, as we have seen, in the sub-apostolic period, that it was regarded as having any particular doctrinal significance. Thus before it can be made the basis of a genuine theory of the Church and the ministry in terms of Papal sovereignty instituted by divine command, the ominous omissions in the earliest documents must be explained, and it must be shown how S. Peter exercised pontifical functions as the Bishop of Rome, conferring upon the Holy See the powers he is alleged to have received from his Master.

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[1] Eusebius, *H.E.* iii. 39, 15; cf. Rawlinson, *S. Mark* (London, 1925), p. xxiii.

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[1] cf. Streeter, op. cit., p. 216.

[2] Lightfoot, *Philippians* (London, 1868), pp. 179 ff.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ORIGINS OF THE SACRAMENTS

FROM whatever point of view the Sacraments may be regarded, they constitute historically an essential element in the life and mission of the Church, while their administration forms a distinctive function of the Apostolic ministry. It is well, therefore, to consider their origin and significance at this stage in our discussion.

BAPTISM

It is true that the term 'Sacrament' was not defined and co-ordinated till Peter Lombard undertook the task in the twelfth century, and distinguished seven ordinances as in a particular sense the divinely appointed means of conveying sanctifying grace to the soul. Nevertheless, from Apostolic times certain rites have been employed to this end, of which Baptism has been the initial incorporation into the Christian society, regarded as the Mystical Body of Christ, since S. Peter first called upon his hearers on the Day of Pentecost to repent and 'be baptized . . . in the Name of Jesus Christ' (*Acts* ii. 38). This message was confirmed by S. Paul when he reminded the Corinthians that 'by one Spirit were we all baptized into one body' (1 *Cor*. xii. 13).

The antecedents of Christian baptism are difficult to determine, but while the custom of initiation with water has many parallels both in the Graeco-Roman world, and elsewhere, Christianity seems to have derived it immediately from the practice of John in the desert. Thus at Ephesus some of the earlier initiates were forthwith baptized 'in the Name of the Lord Jesus' (*Acts* viii. 16 ff.). By the end of the first century A.D. proselytes on embracing Judaism were baptized, but while the underlying conception is deeply laid in the Old Testament (*Exod.* xxix. 4; *Lev.* xii–xvi. 34; *Num.* xix. 7 f.), the custom was not in general use before the Christian era.[1] Moreover, neither the Johannine nor the Jewish rite had any relation to the gift of the Spirit. Nevertheless, the water-baptism of John was connected in the minds of the disciples with the idea of the coming of the new kingdom, and the profound influence which the descent of the Holy Ghost on their Master at His baptism must have exercised upon them could hardly fail to have its effect on the rite, especially in view of a promise of a Spirit-baptism to come (*S. Luke* xxiv. 49; *Acts* i. 4 f., xi. 16; cf. *S. John* xx. 22). The Fourth Evangelist states that the Apostles baptized while the Baptist was alive though Jesus Himself did not do so (*S. John* iii. 22; iv. 2), but there is no conclusive evidence that Christ actually instituted the sacrament, since the command recorded in S. Matthew xxviii. 19 does not appear to belong to the earliest tradition.

In all extant manuscripts the text occurs, but the Old Syriac and Old Latin versions are defective at this point, and Conybeare has given reasons for believing that Eusebius quoted from a text which omitted the formula.[2] It is also significant that Justin Martyr was apparently unacquainted with it inasmuch as he makes no reference to it in his argument for baptismal regeneration.[3] Again, if the Trinitarian formula was part of the original command, it might be expected that it would occur in the other accounts of our Lord's last words, and it is also remarkable that Trinitarian baptism is not mentioned in 1 Corinthians i. 14 ff. and Acts ii. 38; viii. 12, 16; xix. 5. Nevertheless, if the cumulative evidence is against Dominical institution, it seems that Christ gave it

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[1] *Mishna Pesahim*, viii. 8; *Yeb.* 47, 46 (secondc entury). cf. *Dissert. Epicteti*, ii. 9; ed. Upton (London, 1841), vol. i, pp. 214 ff.; Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments* (London, 1928), pp. 30 ff.

[2] *Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft*, 1901, pp. 275 ff.

[3] *Apol.* i. 61.

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His approval, and put a new interpretation on the water-baptism which was already being practised, so that the Apostolic Church used it quite naturally from the beginning as the normal method of initiation into the dispensation of the Spirit.

From Acts viii. 12 ff. it would appear that the sacrament was exclusively the means of securing membership in the Church, the Spirit being given later by the laying on of the Apostles' hands (cf. *Acts* xix. 2 ff.). Nevertheless, such passages as Acts i. 5; ii. 38; xi. 16; 1 Corinthians xii. 12, identify baptism with the gift of the Spirit, while 1 Corinthians vi. 11 and Hebrews x. 22 f. seem to connect it with the remission of sins. It may be concluded, therefore, as Dr. Williams has pointed out, that originally the act of initiation included baptism, penance, and confirmation as 'the one great cleansing, regenerating, and spirit-imparting rite, which was conceived as both symbolizing and effecting the complete transition of the soul from sin and heathenism to full Christian life.'[1]

THE 'MYSTERY' HYPOTHESIS

The fact that in one of its aspects baptism is associated with a sacramental cleansing from sin effected through the Name of the Lord (1 *Cor*. vi. 11), has led some scholars to seek the origin of the rite in the Mystery cults where this idea is thought to prevail. It is true that in the description of the re-birth of initiates at Corinth in the second century A.D., given by the Egyptian Apuleius in his curious work, *The Golden Ass*,[2] Lucius, the hero of the tale, is said to have undergone a ceremonial bathing in preparation for his initiation into the mysteries. This may correspond to the preliminary bath in the sea (ἄλαδε μύσται) of the *mystae* at Eleusis on the sixteenth day of the month Boedromion.[3] Again, Clement of Alexandria makes the votaries of Cybele and Attis say, 'I have gone down into the μαστός' (i.e. the bridal-chamber) but we are left in ignorance concerning the purpose of the visit. Since the death of Attis was annually celebrated in the mourning rites, it is possible that at their conclusion the *mystes* emerged from a cave-sanctuary of the Mother-goddess 'born again' as a son of the goddess.[1] But of this we cannot be certain as it is only the later writers who refer to the revival of Attis after death. Thus it is not until the fourth century A.D. that Sallustius mentions initiates being fed with milk at the festival of Cybele 'as men that are born again,' and the well-known *taurobolium*, during which the high priest of the Mother-goddess was regenerated in the blood of a bull slain on a perforated platform above the pit in which he stood, only took over a sacramental significance in the third and fourth centuries A.D.[2] In the earliest (i.e. second century) references, the rite seems to have been performed for the welfare of the Empire, Emperor, or community rather than for the cleansing of the individual, and there is no positive evidence that it was originally connected with the Cybele cult in its Phrygian form.[3]

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[1] *Essays Catholic and Critical*, p. 376.

[2] *Metam*. ix. 23.

[3] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford, 1896), vol. iii, p. 168.

It may be that the novice did secure a new birth at the annual commemoration of the death and resurrection of Attis, a baptism of blood being possibly part of the rites by which this was attained in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. Similarly, according to Tertullian, the Mithraic rites of Persian origin had initiation ceremonies of a sacramental character,[4] but apart from the fact that no genuine Mithraic literature exists by which the symbolism may be interpreted, these later Persian mysteries only made their way into the Graeco-Roman world in post-Christian times, and it is not improbable, as Justin Martyr maintained,[1] that the ritual was influenced by Christian practice. As the Gentile converts increased in the second and third centuries of our era, when the mysteries were becoming widely extended in the Roman Empire, the two faiths probably reacted on one another, but there is no evidence of a similar borrowing in the Apostolic Church.

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[1] W. Scott, *Proceedings of the Society of Historical Theology* (Oxford, 1917–18), p. 56.

[2] H. Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (1903), p. 185.

[3] Cumont thinks that it made its way into Italy from Cappadocia in the second century A.D., where it had been part of the worship of Artemis Tauropolis. *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses*, vol. vi, no. 2, 1901.

[4] *De Praescr. Haer.* 40.

The mystery cults were based on a Nature symbolism and mythology connected with vegetation festivals, whereas in Christianity the idea of a new birth arose out of a specific historical event—the death and resurrection of Christ. Thus, while S. Paul sometimes used mystery phraseology in his teaching, his conception of a ritual death unto sin and re-birth to life is purely ethical and not ritualistic, being part of a highly mystical notion of a life 'hid with Christ in God,' lived in the power of the resurrection. In the mysteries the attainment of immortality was mainly a matter of ceremonial observance, and even in Orphism, where the ὁστότης, or holiness striven after included an ethical purity, there is nothing corresponding to the inward salvation from death wrought by Christ, and secured by those who are united to Him by faith and a virtuous life.[2]

THE EUCHARIST

Again, in the Eucharist it was the sacrifice of Calvary and not the resurrection miracle that was re-enacted, and on its sacramental side there are no real counterparts in the mystery ritual as it is known at present. Clement of Alexandria refers to the Eleusinian neophytes' partaking of a cup of κυκεών—a gruel made of water and meal—but he does not tell us for what purpose this was done.[3] Farnell thinks that the votary thereby realized a fellowship with the divinity, but, as he says, 'It does not appear that the κυκέων had ever been hallowed on the altar in any form of sacrifice, or that the communicant was ever penetrated with any mystic idea that it contained the divine substance of the goddess.'[1] He thinks, however, that in the Attis rites the fusion of the mortal with the divinity was brought about by a blood ritual together with a sacramental meal of food and some liquid, eaten as the substance of the god.[2] But exactly what was eaten and drunk from the tympanum and cymbal at some point in the ceremonial is unknown, and its purpose obscure.

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[1] *Apol.* i. 66; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 70.

[2] cf. P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of S. Paul* (London, 1911), pp. 87 ff.; Kennedy, *S. Paul and the Mystery Religions* (London, 1913), pp. 225 ff.

[3] *Protrept.* ii. 16, 18, 21.

Again, it is possible to interpret in sacramental terms the savage orgiastic Thracian worship of Dionysos when frenzied votaries devoured the raw flesh of bulls and calves which they tore in pieces. But although this *omophagia* may have reference to the rending of Zagrues (a Chthonian form of Dionysos) by the Titans, and other Thracian orgies, there is no clear evidence that the Dionysiac votaries thought that they were eating the flesh and drinking the blood of a slain god.[3] At any rate, when the cult was stripped of its primitive rites by incorporation in the Hellenic system, and spiritualized by the Orphic brotherhoods, it took over a lofty conception of immortality through spiritual regeneration to a higher life hereafter in which the eating of the god does not occur. True, among the wall paintings at Pompeii a figure can be discerned which might be that of a female satyr suckling a kid, and if it could be proved that the scene refers to a Dionysiac ritual, a sacramental communion would be suggested. But at present this interpretation has not been established.

According to Orphic mythology, the evil nature in man is inherited from the Titans who rent in pieces and ate Dionysos, the infant god subsequently born again of the High God, Zeus. Zeus having slain the Titans with his thunderbolt, made man from their ashes, so that the human body partook of the evil nature of the Titans, while the soul shared in the divine nature of Dionysos. But how far, if at all, a sacramental union in the divine life of Dionysos formed part of the cult, it is impossible to say. An inscription has been discovered at Athens in a precinct of Dionysos containing a record of a sacrifice during which certain persons personified Dionysos, Kore, Palaemon, Aphrodite, and Proteurythmus, and received portions of the flesh of the sacrifice. It has been conjectured that Proteurythmus is to be identified with Orpheus, but, again granting this identification, we have no knowledge of the significance of the actions performed.[1]

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[1] *Hibbert Journal*, vol. ii, no. 2, 1904, p. 316.

[2] op. cit.; cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, part iv ('Adonis,' i), p. 274.

[3] cf. Reuterskiöld, *Die Entstehung der Speisesakramente* (Heidelberg, 1912), p. 128.

It is possible that in Samothracian ritual there was a sacramental element, since on a very fragmentary inscription referring to the Kabeiroi mysteries, the priest is admonished to 'cut up and administer the cake, and distribute the liquid to the votaries.'[2] This, however, is all that can be said as the restoration is conjectural, and we are not told what was done or implied in the ritual. In the Mithraic initiation ceremonies bread and water mixed with *haoma*-juice (or sometimes possibly wine) were eaten, and honey applied to the tongue, but while this represents the nearest approach to Christian Eucharistic practice, as the Fathers realized and attributed the similarity to diabolical influence,[3] as we have already pointed out, the cult is too late in the West to have had any effect on the Apostolic Church. Moreover, in the absence of any genuine Mithraic literature to interpret the symbolism,[4] it is impossible to determine its meaning.

Taking this evidence collectively it is apparent that there is no indication in such data as are available of anything comparable to the Eucharist in the mystery cults that arose on the shores of the Aegean and prevailed for several centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era. Had there existed in Asia Minor in the middle of the first century

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[1] E. W. T. Maass, *Orpheus* (Munich, 1895), pp. 18 ff.

[2] Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 106; Farnell, *Encyclop. Rel. and Ethics*, vol. vii, p. 631.

[3] Tertullian, *De Praescr. Haer.* 40.

[4] The so-called 'Mithraic liturgy' published by Dieterich is now known to be neither Mithraic nor a liturgy.

A.D. a ritual similar to that which the Spanish missionaries encountered among the Aztecs when Cortez began his conquest of Mexico in 1525, the origin of the Christian rite, in absence of evidence to the contrary, might reasonably be sought in culture contact with the Graeco-Roman world. The nearest approach in the mysteries to the Mexican custom of eating dough images of a god as the body of the divinity, sometimes fortified with human blood,[1] was the barbaric *omophagia* in Thrace, and a few conjectural meals which may or may not have borne a remote resemblance in idea to the Eucharist. In the post-Christian Attis meal there is no actual theophany, while the Dionysiac rituals were too remote from the original home of Christianity to have exercised much influence on the new religion. Therefore Professor Gardner is justified in saying that 'there is no adequate evidence for the notion that there was in the pagan mysteries anything at all parallel to the Christian Eucharist.'[2]

This, however, is not to deny that a 'mystery atmosphere' favourable to the development of sacramentalism prevailed in Palestine and the surrounding district in the days of the Apostles. Thus the Jewish sect of the Essenes, for example, performed sacramental lustrations, and partook of solemn meals which, if not eucharistic, were of a definitely religious and ceremonial nature, eaten in silence, and begun and ended with prayer. But whatever influence this general outlook may have had upon S. Paul, it is hardly likely that he would have incorporated into the Christian system specific elements of pagan worship since he asserts that Christians cannot be 'partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils' (1 *Cor*. x. 21). Moreover, the collision between the early Church and the temporal authorities was mainly the result of the Christians refusing to have anything to do with the gods of the Gentiles and their diabolical worship.

If S. Paul had originated the rite, either by having been the recipient of a personal and private vision or revelation, or from some extraneous source, he would certainly have encountered the opposition of the Judaistic party in the Church, as when he introduced other innovations (cf. *Acts* xv; *Gal.* ii). It is therefore much more probable that he developed and systematized the tradition he had received from the Church at Jerusalem, as in the case of the doctrine of the resurrection.[1] All the circumstances in fact point to this conclusion, for unless the stage was set before the Apostle appeared on the scene, it is difficult to understand how the situation could have arisen with which he was confronted at Corinth (1 *Cor.* xi. 21 f.).

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[1] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées* (Paris, 1857), vol. iii, pp. 510 ff., 531 ff.

[2] *The Modern Churchman*, xvi, October, 1926, p. 322.

If, then, S. Paul did not invent the rite, or borrow it from the mystery cults, it would seem that the origin of the Eucharist must be sought either in Judaism or in Christianity itself. At this point, however, the problem is complicated by the fact that the documentary evidence at our disposal is contradictory and deficient in several important matters. According to the Marcan narrative, our Lord assembled the disciples in the Upper Room 'on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover' (*S. Mark* xiv. 12)—i.e. on the fifteenth of Nisan—and to this S. Luke and S. Matthew agree (*S. Luke* xxii. 13; *S. Matt.* xxvi. 18). The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, maintains that the event took place 'before the feast of the Passover' (*S. John* xiii. 1), and in the subsequent account of the Crucifixion it is recorded that the bodies were taken down from the crosses on the Preparation to prevent their remaining at the scene of execution over the Feast, 'for the day of that Sabbath was an high day' (xix. 31, cf. 14; xviii. 28). In spite of the ingenious arguments of Dalman, Chwolson, Edersheim, and others to establish the view of the Synoptists,[2] it is very difficult to imagine the events described in connection with the trials and crucifixion occurring on the Feast day. It seems that a rebellious teacher could be executed on a festival,[3] but the priests and people presumably would have been too much occupied at this season with their Paschal duties to conduct a public trial amid popular demonstrations. The Johannine date (Nisan 14th) is therefore the more probable, but in that case it is clear that the Last Supper occurred on the night before the Paschal meal began.

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[1] cf. E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christenthums* (Stuttgart, 1921), vol. i, p. 175.

[2] Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 86 ff.; Chwolson, *Das Letzte Passmahl Christi* (Leipzig, 1918), p. 11.

[3] *San.* xi. 3.

The Fourth Evangelist, however, gives no account of the origin of the Eucharist, and it is possible, as the Dean of Bocking has recently suggested,[1] that S. Luke merely recorded the Paschal meal without describing the institution of the Christian rite, ending his narrative with the words, 'I will not drink from henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come' (xxii. 18). This would explain the omission of the words 'this do in remembrance of Me,' etc., in S. Luke xxii. 19 f. in important manuscripts like the Graeco-Latin Codex Bezae (D), the Old Latin manuscripts, the Curetonian Syriac version, and certain cursive manuscripts;[2] while the placing of the cup of blessing before the reference to the bread in the current version, becomes intelligible as an insertion of the longer text at a very early date to incorporate the Pauline tradition (1 *Cor.* xi. 23 ff.). At the same time it must be remembered that the cup is placed first in 1 Corinthians x. 16, 21, and this order is maintained in the *Didache.*

From this textual confusion it may be inferred that attempts were made to unify the tradition at a very early period, but whatever obscurities may have resulted, the earliest authorities, S. Paul and S. Mark, agree on the essential facts, viz. that it was at a gathering intimately connected with the Passover that Christ took bread and blessed it, and said, 'This is My Body.' This is also supported by S. Matthew xxvi. 26, though there are differences in detail concerning the institution of the cup. In the earliest Latin version of S. Mark (Codex Bobiensis), however, the two accounts are identical.

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[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1927, p. 362.

[2] Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge, 1881), Appendix, pp. 63 f.; Introduction, p. 175.

THE PASSOVER

To understand the significance of the things alleged to have been said and done at the Last Supper, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the setting of the assembly. The Passover ritual with which the meal was in some way connected, was a combination of ancient blood and vegetation rites, originating perhaps in the sacrifice of the first-born, and an agricultural corn cult which survived in the leavened bread *tabu* and the offering of the barley sheaf (*Lev.* xxiii. 11–15). The blood ritual was softened into the vicarious sacrifice of a lamb whose blood was sprinkled on the door posts in the hope, according to Frazer, that the angel of death would believe it to be the blood of the first-born, and so would pass on in haste leaving the trembling parents unmolested.[1] Meyer thinks, however, that Yahweh was Himself the destroyer,[2] but it has yet to be proved that He was ever regarded in this light. It is much more likely that sacrifices were offered in the spring by the early Hebrews to protect their houses from nightly visitations by *Jinn*, and ritual being more permanent than the associated beliefs, the custom was given a monotheistic significance by being interpreted in terms of the Exodus.

Whatever may have led to the practice of applying the blood to the houses, behind the ritual there was the deep-seated conviction that 'the blood is the life,' and the post-exilic priestly directions concerning the manner in which the sacred banquet was to be eaten, suggest that originally the victim was eaten raw (*Exod.* xii. 9). With the assigning of the blood exclusively to Yahweh after the Exile (*Lev.* xvii. 10), the sacrificial element came into greater prominence, and the blood was then poured out at the base of the altar. If, as Robertson Smith suggested,[3] the sacred meal was at first a communion feast on a slain animal god, both the sacrificial and sacramental idea were deeply ingrained in the Paschal ritual.

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[1] *Golden Bough*, third edition, part iv, 'The Dying God,' pp. 174 ff.

[2] *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachburstämme*, p. 38.

[3] *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1907), pp. 338 f.

There is no adequate reason to suppose, as Buchanan Gray contends,[1] that in the long course of its history the rite lost its sacrificial significance, becoming a mere *opus operatum*. On the contrary, the unique achievement of post-exilic Israel, as we have seen, was the establishment of an elaborate sacrificial system of worship at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem while maintaining the primary importance of an ethical surrender of the soul to Yahweh. Sacramentalism in the Christian sense of the bestowal of Divine grace through an external rite, was alien to Judaism, but, as Mr. Wand has recently emphasized,[2] material objects were employed in Israel as the vehicles of spiritual power. Certain substances such as blood, oil, and incense were regarded as having life-giving and sacred properties which could be transmitted to the worshipper, or to some inanimate object like an altar or a megalithic monument ; while in the Paschal meal a sacrificial victim was solemnly eaten, together with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, if not in the true sacramental manner, at least as an annual renewal of the ancient covenant between Yahweh and His people.

THE KIDDÛSH CEREMONY AND THE LAST SUPPER

By the commencement of the Christian era the original custom of eating the Passover in private houses (*Exod.* xii. 4) had been revived, and in addition to the actual Paschal banquet, quasi-religious gatherings or *Charûbôth* in houses were common, both on Friday evenings in preparation for the Sabbath, and before the great festivals.[3] The ceremonial meal, or *Kiddûsh*, consisted in the head of the family pouring wine into a cup, after chanting the praise of a virtuous wife ;

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[1] *Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1925), p. 51.

[2] *The Development of Sacramentalism* (London, 1928).

[3] G. H. Box, *J.T.S.*, vol. iii, no. 2, 1902, pp. 360 ff. ; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Background of the Christian Liturgy* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 167 ff.

and having drunk himself, handing it to the rest of the guests. When all had partaken, the solemn washing of hands followed, together with the blessing of two loaves, one of which was cut in pieces and distributed by the host to the guests. The blessing of the bread and wine was apparently in the nature of a 'grace,' in the formula: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our Lord, Who bringest forth bread from the earth'; 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, Who dost create the fruit of the vine.'[1] To Westerners these words would seem to suggest that it was Yahweh rather than the actual food which was blessed, but in the East objects are commonly blessed without specific reference to them in the formula.[2]

It was about this time that new influences were beginning to make their way among the Jews and modifying their religious outlook and customs. The ceremonial drinking of cups of wine and water was introduced into the Passover ritual,[3] while among the Essenes in addition to baptismal lustrations, the solemn meals already mentioned were eaten in silence, and begun and concluded with prayer.[4] In apocalyptic circles oil seems to have been regarded as having mystical properties (*Enoch* xxii. 8; cf. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* xxxiii. 5), and Esdras pictures the restoration of the Scriptures under the figure of a cup full of water, 'but the colour of it was like fire.' Having drunk this his heart uttered understanding, wisdom grew in his breast, his spirit retained its memory, and his mouth was opened (4 *Esdras* xiv. 39 ff.).

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[1] Ber. vi. 6, vi. 1; Tos. Ber. vi. 24.

[2] cf. *The Divine Liturgy of S. Chrysostom*, translated by F. E. Brightman (London, 1922), pp. 3, 55.

Deacon. Bless, Sir, the Stoicharion with the Orarion.

Priest. Blessed be our God always, now and ever and world without end. Amen. . . .

Deacon. Bless, Sir, the Zeon.

Priest. Blessed be the fervency of the Saints, always, now and ever, etc.

Since the rubrics state 'The Priest blesses [it] and says,' it would appear that these are real blessings.

[3] Gray, *Sacrifice in the Old Testament*, p. 374.

[4] cf. Oesterley, *Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1914), p. 45.

Similarly the establishment of the Messianic kingdom was frequently symbolized as a banquet (4 *Esdras* vi. 51 ; *Enoch* lxii. 17 ; 2 *Baruch* xxix. 5 ff. ; *Isa*. xxv. 6) which has led Schweitzer, and more recently Dr. N. P. Williams, to conclude that our Lord was in the habit of assembling the disciples from time to time to partake of a sacred meal as a foretaste of the good things to come when the kingdom should be set up[1] (cf. *S. Matt*. viii. 11 ; xxv. 1 ff.). On this hypothesis the feeding of the multitude (*S. Mark* vi. 34) is connected with one of these banquets, and the Eucharistic discourse in S. John vi, immediately following the miracle, is explained accordingly.[2]

The evidence is insufficient to warrant a definite statement concerning this plausible theory, but it seems clear that ceremonial gatherings of a quasi-sacramental character were coming into vogue among the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era, and it was doubtless at one of these assemblies that the Eucharist was instituted on the eve of the Passion. The most probable occasion seems to be the *Kiddûsh* meal immediately preceding the Passover on Nisan 14th, as the Fourth Evangelist records. Whether or not it was customary to hold Messianic banquets, doubtless this was not the first *charûbah* that the Apostolic band had attended together, but on this occasion there was apparently a sense of mystery in the air, greater than had hitherto been experienced. It was with desire that Christ desired to eat this Passover with them before He suffered, being conscious that this was the last time that He would drink the fruit of the vine with them before the new kingdom was set up in His Blood (*S. Luke* xxii. 15).

At such a gathering at this particular moment the predominating thought must have been that of the approaching Paschal sacrifice. In addition to this the words of the Host as He blessed the bread and distributed the cup connected the solemn actions He performed with the Covenant-sacrifice at Sinai (*Exod.* xxiv. 8), and the setting up of the new kingdom. 'This is My Blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many,' could but mean that Jesus regarded His approaching death as constituting a new covenant-sacrifice symbolically set forth by the ritual acts. 'As other Jewish martyrs had done before His time (4 *Macc.* vi. 27–29; xvii. 8–22), He offered His Body and Blood to God as a "propitiation" on behalf of His people, and in a faith which not even the shadow of the Cross could darken, He gave a tryst to those who had been with Him in His trials at the banquet of the redeemed.'[1] In the words of Lietzmann, our Lord in effect said, 'I am the sacrificial victim whose blood is shed for you, the faithful, to seal a new covenant with God, and whose body is broken for you.'[2] Hitherto the blood had been sprinkled on the people, now it was to be drunk by them all for the same reason, for the simple *Kiddûsh* ceremony was invested with a new sacrificial and sacramental significance, being at once the consummation of the sacrificial system of the Old Law, and the expression of the truth that participation in the Messianic life sacrificed was the only way to full communion with the Messianic life glorified.[3]

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[1] A. Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus* (London, 1910), pp. 374 ff. ; Williams, in *Essays Catholic and Critical* (London, 1926), p. 403.

[2] But cf. Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de Thèologie Positive*, vol i, pp. 283 f.

THE EUCHARIST IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

In making this claim for the Last Supper, it must not be supposed that we are under any misapprehensions concerning development in Eucharistic doctrine in the Apostolic Church. On the contrary, we are convinced that one looks in vain in the New Testament for any clearly defined sacramental belief and practice such as occur in the later Catholic writings. But it was, apparently, the seed sown on Maundy Thursday that, in due course, and without any substantial change, grew into the form it assumed in subsequent ages.

It would appear from the Acts that after the Day of Pentecost the disciples met together for a weekly *charûbah*, or 'breaking of bread,' on the first day of the week in commemoration of the Resurrection (*Acts* xx. 7; 1 *Cor*. v. 7 f.). These sacred meals could hardly fail to recall the Last Supper when they were all assembled with their Master in the Upper Room. Many things had transpired during the eventful weeks that had intervened, the exact meaning of which they did not yet fully realize. But something had happened which had transformed the Old Covenant and its rites into the New Israel. When Easter came round again how were they to regard the Paschal celebrations? Were they to keep the feast according to the Old Law, or were they to make their breaking of bread a solemn commemoration of the Last Supper, and the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of the Lord?[1] In a sacrificial age the weekly gathering would inevitably tend to be invested with supernatural meaning analogous to the Temple offerings to which they had been accustomed all their lives, while its associations with the Passover and the Covenant sacrifice, on the one hand, and with Calvary on the other, would give it a special Godward significance.

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[1] B. W. Bacon, *Jesus and Paul* (London, 1921), pp. 7 f.

[2] *Messe und Herrenmahl*, pp. 220 f.

[3] cf. Quick, *The Christian Sacraments* (London, 1927), p. 193.

We know that very early Christ was identified with the Paschal Lamb on Whom the faithful feed as the true Passover (1 *Cor*. v. 7; cf. *S. John* xix. 36), and this belief would naturally lead to the identification of the broken bread and the poured out cup with the Flesh and Blood of the Victim offered on Calvary. Thus the way would be opened for the interpretation of the Eucharist as an *anamnesis* of the atoning death of Jesus comparable to the Paschal memorial before God of the deliverance from Egypt. As the former covenant had been sealed in blood, so the Eucharistic wine was none other than Christ's Blood in which He sealed the New Covenant (1 *Cor*. x. 1–5). Given the weekly breaking of bread, and the identification of Christ with the Paschal Lamb, it would be an easy transition for the sacred meal to become an act of sacrificial communion at which our Lord as the invisible Host was incorporeally present, in accordance with

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[1] cf. C. H. Turner in *New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, p. 106.

His own words spoken at their last assembly on the night in which He was betrayed. This seems to be the tradition which S. Paul received from the Church of Jerusalem and handed on to the Corinthians when he set to work to correct the abuses which had brought discredit to the rite, after it had become established in the Christian community.

The separation of the *Agapê* and the Eucharist (cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 34) doubtless led to the primitive custom of 'breaking the bread' early in the morning on the first day of the week as the normal method of worship. This would have the effect of eliminating to some extent the social character of the *charûbah*, and emphasizing its religious significance. At Troas, as at Corinth, the brethren assembled in the evening for a common meal which was followed by a lengthy discourse by S. Paul who subsequently celebrated the Eucharist, presumably in the early hours of the morning (*Acts* xx. 7–12; cf. 1 *Cor.* xi. 20). But as the *Kiddûsh* meal dropped out of use, the memorial of the Last Supper alone remained as the Christian equivalent of the Jewish offerings, especially as the elements were habitually associated with the fine flour of the meal-offering, and the wine of the drink-offering (*Exod.* xxix. 40; *Lev.* ii; xxiii. 13; *Num.* vi. 15, 17; xv. 5, 7, 10; xxviii. 14), while the actual words, 'Do this as My memorial,' recorded in 1 Corinthians xi. 24, 25, and in the *textus receptus* of S. Luke, have parallels in the sacrificial language of the Old Testament. Thus 'do' (ποιεῖτε) is the equivalent of the Hebrew עשה, used to describe the daily offering of the morning and evening sacrifice (*Exod.* xxix. 39; cf. *Lev.* ix. 7; *Ps.* lxvi. 15), while 'memorial' (ἀνάμνησις) is the Greek translation in the Septuagint of the Hebrew לְאַזְכָּרָה 'memorial' in Leviticus xxiv. 7, and of לְזִכָּרוֹן in Numbers x. 10. There is no indication in the New Testament, however, of the precise meaning of either ποιεῖν or ἀνάμνησις, though, as Dr. Lock has pointed out, ποιεῖν is commonly used in the LXX to indicate the celebration of a festival, and it is similarly employed in Hebrews xi. 28.[1]

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[1] *Theology*, November, 1923, vol. vii, pp. 284 ff.

S. Paul maintained that the cup of blessing is a participation in the Blood of Christ, and the broken bread a participation in the Body of Christ (1 *Cor.* x. 16, 17), the Christian counterpart of the heavenly manna (x. 3, 4), and a feast upon a sacrifice like the Passover, the faithful partaking of the true Paschal Victim (1 *Cor.* v. 7). Therefore those who discern not the Lord's Body eat and drink to their own judgement (xi. 27 ff.). The author of the Fourth Gospel, while taking the institution of the Eucharist for granted, carries the Pauline doctrine a step farther in the mystery direction by making a partaking of the Bread of Life a participation in the process of resurrection (*S. John* vi. 51, 54). The language is undoubtedly that of the mystery cults, but the teaching is as certainly an elaboration of the theology of S. Paul expressed in mystical terms. Moreover, the writer is careful to exclude both a materialistic and magical conception by insisting on the spiritual and divine character of the Eucharistic gifts—'It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing' (vi. 63).

From the end of the first century the Eucharistic offering was definitely called a sacrifice,[1] and it filled the place in the Christian system which was occupied by this institution in other religions. True, this is most apparent from the second century onwards, and among the Gentile converts, but probably only because they were less concerned with eschatological hopes than the Jewish Christians, many of whom seem to have been looking almost hourly for the return of their Lord to rule in person over His kingdom. It is this difference of outlook probably that has led some theologians to regard the 'religion of Ignatius' and his successors (i.e. the Gentile Church of the second century) as a reconstitution of the original Apostolic faith on a basis of Catholicism. Furthermore, it was in this sub-apostolic period that attempts were made to explain the *mode* of the Presence vouchsafed through the sacramental gifts.

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[1] Clement, *ad Cor.* 40–44; *Didache*, xiv. 1; S. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 6; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 41–70; cf. S. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxiii. 17; S. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iv. xviii. 6.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST

There is no evidence to prove actually a development in thought about the fact of the Eucharistic sacrifice and the Real Presence, so far as we can discover, but the explanation of these doctrines has varied in all ages. Christian theology always represents the operation of the Spirit as God in action, and the belief that Christ is the proximate giver of the Spirit, Who is the initiator of His new creation, involves at once a creative process which takes effect according to His will and purpose for mankind. Thus S. Paul speaks of the Spirit quickening our mortal bodies, and the whole creation animate and inanimate, giving them an effectiveness they did not formerly possess, without altering their physical composition (*Rom.* viii. 11, 20 ff.). On this hypothesis it is quite natural for the Eucharistic elements to be regarded as acquiring a new capacity as a result of their consecration.

For our Lord and the Apostles, matter was the vehicle of Spirit, and when Christ said, 'This is My Body,' it is not at all likely that it occurred to His followers to interpret His words in the sense in which to-day one might say, 'This is myself,' in handing a photograph to a friend. Jesus Himself, in fact, was the supreme sacrament apart from Whom no other has use or meaning. As Canon Quick says:

> In the Eucharist the self-offering of Christ reaches the utmost limit of externality through the presentation of material symbols, in order that souls in material bodies may have that sensible assurance of Christ's coming to them from without, which their earthly condition craves, even while they cannot see Him come.[1]

If 'the Eucharistic Body and Blood are the very Body and Blood in which Christ lived and died and rose and ascended, only bestowed on us in a spiritual and heavenly manner; the same Body, not only now in its material particles, but in its spiritual principle and virtue,'[2] the consecrated gifts take over a new effectiveness so that they become a symbol of the Personality of Christ comparable to the human body through which the invisible personality finds self-expression, and a means of communication with others.

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[1] *The Christian Sacraments*, pp. 204 f.

[2] Gore, *The Body of Christ* (London, 1907), p. 61.

Thus the Church has always maintained that by the gift of His sacred Body with all its attributes and virtues, the perfected sinless human nature was made accessible to sin-stained humanity; and through His Blood incorporation became possible into the quickening risen life, permeating the ever self-extending Organism of the Incarnate. The blood is the life. This is the essential concept in the institution of sacrifice in all stages of culture, and if it be granted that the principle found its highest expression on Calvary, the All-Sufficient Sacrifice there offered must be regarded as the source and stay of our spiritual life. But sacrifice does not entail only the death of the victim; it has to be continued and completed by the offering of the life, for it is this which gives significance to the rite. The death on Calvary occurred at a given moment in time, but its theological significance is beyond the limitations of time and space, and thus conceived, the offering of the blood becomes a continuing action accomplished in the Eucharist, just as the reception of the consecrated Gifts represents a participation in the very life of Christ and in the grace flowing from His sacrifice.

As the Master of Corpus says, 'All the evidence makes it clear that the rite of the Last Supper was connected by the closest ties with that sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross which was so soon to be consummated,' taking place as it did, 'under the shadow of the Passover.' Like Père de la Taille, he regards the Eucharistic offering as in a primary sense a sacrifice without involving any repetition of Calvary, since, on his definition of sacrifice, the ritual offering of the blood invests the death of the victim with a supernatural efficacy. The Last Supper and the Cross, he contends, are one identical sacrifice, and therefore any suggestion of a further immolation of Christ in the Mass, as some Roman Catholic theologians have maintained, becomes impossible.[1] The difference, however, between the view here advanced and that generally adopted by Catholic scholars turns on the definition of sacrifice, and is largely a question of terms. It is generally agreed that Christ was once offered, yet He has willed that His death should be made to be a sacrifice through the perpetual Eucharistic memorial 'till He come,' so that thereby the faithful may become partakers in His offering and in His life.

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[1] Spens in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, pp. 430 ff.

It may be that we shall never arrive at the precise relationship between the atonement and its commemoration, nor be able to determine exactly how and in what manner the body born of Mary and crucified on Calvary is present in the Eucharistic species,[1] but it is the corporate conviction of the Church maintained through the ages and verified by spiritual experience, that our Lord established a grace-bearing visible society with certain rites to be the divinely appointed means of continuing in the time-process His incarnational self-expression, and His sacrificial self-offering. By these instruments of His grace, spiritual gifts are bestowed which the human soul requires to advance with hope and confidence on life's journey, and at the last attain the Beatific Vision.

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[1] For a further discussion of this question see op. cit., pp. 441 ff., but before we know more about the nature of physical objects there does not seem to be much hope of a satisfactory solution of the problem.

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CHAPTER X

MAGIC AND RELIGION

THE difficulty felt by many thoughtful and well-informed people to-day regarding the representation of Christianity as a sacramental religion appears to be not so much a matter of the historical evidence concerning the origin of the rites involved, as of their significance in a scientific age. Does not this conception of the supernatural, it is asked, really belong to the category of magic, and therefore, whatever may be said for or against Apostolic custom, has not the time surely come to relegate these ordinances to their proper place in magico-religious development?

It cannot be denied that magic and religion historically are very closely connected, as is shown by the use of the term 'magico-religious,' employed in the last sentence and of frequent occurrence in anthropological literature. The expression is designedly ambiguous, as is explained in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, the recognized authority on anthropological terminology. 'The distinction between magic and religion, about which the framers of general theory are in dispute, may be ignored for purposes of particular description,' the cumbrous phrase magico-religious standing for 'an important working principle.'[1] This principle is that the distinction between rites and practices that may fairly be called religious, and those that are definitely magical, is so very hard to maintain that for practical purposes it is better to classify them as 'magico-religious,' i.e. occupying an intermediate position.

According to this method of approach to the problem, the Christian sacraments would doubtless come under this composite term, inasmuch as they are capable of being regarded either as belonging to magic or to religion. But however useful the device is to the field worker among primitive people in the classification of his material, it is misleading when it is applied to the higher religions. Magic unquestionably dogs the steps of religion in all states of culture, and not least in Christianity, as we shall consider in the next chapter, and therefore it is of fundamental importance that a distinction between the two disciplines be maintained, for clearly there must be a dividing line somewhere.

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[1] London, 1912, p. 251.

According to Sir James Frazer, magic deals with 'impersonal forces,' and aims at controlling or restraining them, while by religion is to be understood 'a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life.' Thus defined religion 'consists of two elements, a theoretical and a practical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man, and an attempt to propitiate or please them,' while magic, although it often seeks to affect spirits or gods, who are personal agents of the kind assumed by religion, as well as men or inanimate objects, only does so with a view to compelling them to comply with the wishes of the magician.[1] If this view be accepted, in practice religion consists in the worship of spiritual beings, whereas magic is essentially coercion.

This is generally agreed by anthropologists to be a fair description of the two disciplines, though the unwarrantable conclusions concerning an 'age' of magic preceding an 'age' of religion, which Frazer draws from it,[2] are by no means acceptable, or capable of proof. Magic represents an attempt to exploit the supernatural from within, frequently for private and personal gain, whereas religion represents man's attitude to the sacred conceived as external and superior to himself, and therefore able to help him. The magician compels, while the priest supplicates the superhuman powers, and merely acts on their behalf and as their agent. The fundamental distinction between these two approaches to the

[1] *Golden Bough*, third edition, part i, pp. 220 ff.

[2] *The Early History of Kingship* (London, 1905), p. 127.

supernatural lies in the fact that though the *modus operandi* may be the same in the two cases, the ends to which the rites are applied are totally different in a magical and in a religious ceremony; just as a row of houses may have the same appearance but to the occupants one is differentiated from the rest because it is for them their *home.* The psychological associations make the edifice what it really is to those who live in it, and not the mere bricks and mortar that compose the outward structure. So the mental attitude of the priest and the medicine-man determines the psychological significance of the rites and makes them what they are, viz. magic or religion.

While there is no justification for the assumption that originally an age of pure magic preceded an age of religion, the priest being the lineal successor of the magican, as 'the fallacy of magic becomes more and more apparent to the acute minds and is slowly displaced by religion,'[1] it is nevertheless true that magic does play a more prominent part in primitive society than in a modern civilized community. Moreover, when it is encountered to-day it is not infrequently a legacy from the past, a survival from the time when a primitive state of culture prevailed. It is conceivable, therefore, that sacraments may represent a survival of earlier rites of a magical nature.

The notion of obtaining supernatural power through the eating of sacrosanct food is found in some form in most parts of the world. As offerings of blood, and similar substances endowed, as it is thought, with life-giving qualities, are made to give nourishment and vitality to the gods, so man receives strength through the food of the gods. Thus from Central America and Peru to Africa and Vedic India, the practice of eating sacrificial victims has obtained, especially when the victim has been regarded as in some sense itself divine or sacred. It is this idea which is present in the institution of totemism, the sacred ally being solemnly consumed periodically to establish a bond between the human group and the animal or other object with which it is in alliance.[2] Similarly when the divinity is a corn deity or spirit, he may be eaten either in the form of a dough image, as among the Aztecs,[1] or as grain or bread.[2] The sacramental eating of the first-fruits in vegetation cults belongs to the same category of rites. How far ceremonies of this character can be described as magical is a matter of definition. Since the prevailing conception is invariably one of dependence rather than coercion, the 'communicants' looking to a supernatural source of strength superior to themselves to give the power they or their crops could not otherwise possess, anthropologically generally they come under the category of religion. But it is this type of rite which is commonly suspected as lying behind, and finding expression in, Christian Eucharistic doctrine, especially in its Catholic definition.

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[1] ibid.

[2] cf. W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 226 ff.; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), vol. i, pp. 3 ff.

When, however, the official teaching of the Church is analysed it becomes apparent that the sacraments are always represented in strictly religious terms as *gifts* from God to man imparted through 'outward and visible signs' employed as means of conveying 'inward and spiritual grace' for ethical purposes. The perpetuation of an incarnational relationship already established by God in ordinances which claim to be of divine appointment, or sanction, is a very different thing from attempts to coerce supernatural powers for private and personal gain, often at the expense of the rest of the community. Thus the functions of the Christian priest differ fundamentally from those of the medicine-man, inasmuch as the sacerdotal action is executed on behalf of Christ by virtue of a special ministerial commission received through one who claims direct succession from the Apostolic fellowship, both sacramentally and through installation in the chair of his predecessor.[3] There is here no suggestion of the earthly agent practising a bastard science by his own inherent magical powers, since the grace is alleged to proceed from the supreme and divine *Sacerdos* Who wills to continue His work in His society by these methods. Whether or no these claims can be justified historically and theologically does not affect the issue, as, rightly or wrongly, it is on these grounds that the Church bases its practice, and by so doing removes its sacramental ordinances officially from the sphere of magic.

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[1] cf. ch. ix, p. 167.

[2] *Golden Bough*, part viii ('Spirit of Corn,' ii), pp. 48 ff

[3] cf. ch. viii, p. 146, and C. H. Turner, in *Early History of the Church and Ministry*, ed. H. B. Swete (London, 1921), pp. 95 ff.

Nevertheless, this does not prevent the doctrines involved from becoming magical in actual practice if and when the intention of the Church is not maintained and safeguarded. Thus it is an all too easy transition from the conception of grace given from above through human instruments and material signs, to that of an impersonal force comparable to the primitive notion of *mana*, acting in accordance with the will of the operator through the repetition of a formula and the appropriate ritual actions. The conditions laid down for the valid administration of a sacrament are not very different in form from those prescribed for the performance of a magical operation, and there is evidence in abundance of Christian rites having been used in this way both in ancient and modern times. It is therefore of the very greatest importance both in the interests of true religion and in the maintenance of the dignity of the sacraments, that every care should be taken to avoid the ordinances of Christ becoming unedifying magical ceremonials.

This will be done most effectively by sound sacramental teaching and practice rather than by the opponents of the ordinances broadcasting charges which can easily be refuted in theory without touching the fundamental question. Let it be granted that theoretically the Catholic doctrines are in accordance with the loftiest conceptions of religion, but let it also be recognized that, like all other laudable practices, they are liable to abuse. Those in authority who realize these dangers may be prompted to frame regulations governing certain aspects of sacramental practice, such as those connected with the Reserved Gifts, which will minimize the risk of abuse, but it is belief and not practice that is the really fundamental question. Once the true nature of the sacraments is appreciated, the magical element is excluded, and it has yet to be proved that some of the developments most feared in certain quarters are *ipso facto* devoid of spiritual and ethical value. Be this as it may, the recent unedifying Reservation controversy in England cannot be said to have solved the problem, possibly largely because the emphasis has been put in the wrong place.

A magical view is most liable to arise when the Sign is dissociated from the thing signified, and against this the Church has guarded by insisting that a sacrament consists in a divine action which is only efficacious in accordance with the moral dispositions and co-operation of the recipients or worshippers. True, the grace has been said to be conferred *ex opere operato*, but the grace of the Sign depends wholly upon the Will of God and the ordinance of Christ. It is the same Divine Will which operated in the Incarnation that determines the sacramental action independent of the spiritual condition of the minister because it proceeds from God. The nature which our Lord assumed at His Incarnation—

> found a necessary expression in accordance with natural law in His natural body; it finds a necessary expression in accordance with laws which, as yet, we do not know in His heavenly body; it finds a necessary expression sacramentally in Host, or Chalice, and that in a manner no less directly determined by the Divine Will.[1]

Any Eucharistic doctrine, whether Catholic or Protestant, implies that a special and effectual significance is assigned to the sacramental symbolism in accordance with the Will of God, and while in one case this may be more restricted than in another, the charge of idolatry or magic can hardly justly be made by one sacramental Christian against another so long as the Gifts are identified with the Giver. To certain types of minds symbolism is more natural than to others, but it does not follow that they are therefore necessarily magical in their outlook. Thus we are told that it was the daily custom of the late Baron von Hügel to visit the little Roman Catholic Church in Holly Place on his return from an afternoon walk over Hampstead Heath. There, as Abbot Butler relates, he would sit, 'the great deep eyes fixed on the Tabernacle, the whole being wrapt in an absorption of prayer, devotion, contemplation. Those who have not seen him so know only half the man.'[1] To interpret in terms of magic a religious experience of this kind on the part of one of the profoundest thinkers of recent times is clearly absurd. Surely, if it is truly believed that 'the Eucharistic body and blood are no less directly related to Christ in that they are no less directly dependent on His being and nature, and if they mediate an even more intimate relation than did His natural body, a similar attitude is justified, and our Eucharistic adoration finds natural and proper expression in acts related to the Sacrament.'[2]

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[1] A. E. Taylor and W. Spens, in *Report of Anglo-Catholic Congress* (London, 1927), p. 116.

It is not an impersonal mystic force residing in a sacred object that is here implied but a special contact of the human soul with Divine Personality comparable to the intercourse between man and man exercised through the agency of the spoken or written word, music, and art. As Dr. Kirk says:

> Man has a 'tonic' or quasi-physical influence upon his fellow man, which, though enhanced by the willing co-operation of the recipient, is not necessarily dependent thereupon; and nothing forbids that the repetition of a formula, token, or rite should be the means of its transmission. Some of the most intimate and sacred of our human experiences are characterized by just these three features; what hinders, then, that we should accept the testimony of the saints that just these features also distinguish their experience of God's grace?[3]

The Incarnation has shown once and for all to those who accept the doctrine that the material is capable of becoming the vehicle of the spiritual and the veil of the presence of the Infinite, and the sacraments are merely the extension in time and space of this principle. The belief in the 'Real objective presence' of Christ in the Eucharist is undoubtedly open to serious abuse, but it is not in itself a magical conception, and it is capable of producing great depths of spiritual devotion.

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[1] *Selected Letters*, 1896–1924 (London, 1926), p. 49.

[2] Spens in *Essays Catholic and Critical* (London, 1926), p. 444.

[3] *Theology*, December, 1925, p. 331.

The crucial issue is the *spirit* in which a sacramental rite is approached, the cause to which it is attributed, and the purpose for which it is performed. So long as a truly Christian attitude is preserved in these matters, the sacramental principle, we venture to think, is in no serious danger of becoming a magical operation.

PRAYER

The same applies to prayer. It will hardly be denied by any practising Christian that here again we are dealing with a definitely religious exercise, yet, like science and the sacramental idea, it has behind it a long history in which the magical element is prominent and still survives in its cruder aspects. On the side of invocation it has affinities with incantation, the transition from spell to prayer being as easy as that from *mana* to sacramental grace. Emotions must find an outlet somehow, and when cause and effect, agent and act, are not clearly differentiated, various attempts are made to determine human fortunes by supernatural means. Thus life and death, sickness and health, success and failure are controlled by quasi-magical operations, the ritual often being in the nature of imitative actions designed to bring about the desired result.

Frazer's theory that 'sympathetic,' or imitative, magic is simply a misapplication of the laws of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity,[1] does not sufficiently take into account the emotional and representative aspect of primitive cult, in its ancient and modern guise—the pent-up desire to act discharging itself on the symbol of the object. Thus that which in higher religions is expressed by utterances, in rudimentary cults is represented symbolically. When a savage wants thunder to bring rain, he does not imitate it, but simply swings his bull-roarer in order that he may actually make it. It is not a noise like thunder that he imagines he hears, but the thunder itself.[2] In developed magic the operator is more or less aware that he is dealing with a symbol, yet, in his need for emotional relief, he makes himself believe that the desired effect, though enacted on the symbol, is actually transmitted to the real object. It is only as the belief in magico-religious practices declines that primitive ideas of making or being a thing degenerates into a merely imitative ceremony, a piece of frivolous and valueless mimicry. When wind or rain is wanted representative rites are performed to express by actions, sometimes accompanied by suitable exclamations, the inmost desire of the heart.

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[1] *Golden Bough*, 'Magic Art,' part i, pp. 55 ff.

[2] E. O. James, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, pp. 564 f.

The prayer attitude is the more developed expression of the faith and hope with which the magical rite is instinct. Thus among so primitive a people as the Dieri tribe in South-East Australia, in times of severe drought, supernatural beings, or *mura mura*, are called upon to give the medicine-men power to make a heavy rain fall, the people proclaiming in loud voices the impoverished state of the country, and the half-starved condition of the tribe.[1] Here spell and prayer occur side by side as two aspects of one great desire, the spirits, who live in the sky and made the clouds, being supplicated to assist the rites calculated to bring about the longed-for result. The rain-making ceremonies are thought to be seen by these *mura mura*, and as a result they cause the clouds to appear in the sky unless they are influenced by the evil magic of some other tribe. In more developed communities, like the Akikuyu[2] or the Dinka[3] in Africa, a special deity is thought to control the elements, to whom prayers are addressed for rain. In classical times it was to the sky-god, Zeus, that the Athenians turned with requests for seasonable weather,[4] while in still more spiritually enlightened ages the

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[1] Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 394.

[2] *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxiv, p. 263.

[3] *Golden Bough*, part iii, 'The Dying God' (London, 1911), p. 32.

[4] Marcus Antoninus, v. 7. cf. G. H. Rendall, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself* (London, 1898), pp. 55 ff.

Lord of heaven and earth was supplicated by solemn litany to send such moderate rain and showers that the people may receive the fruits of the earth to their comfort and to His glory.

But if spell thus tends to become prayer as more lofty conceptions of religion replace a magical view of the supernatural control of Nature, it is also true that prayer easily degenerates into spell when it is regarded as an automatic repetition of a formula to produce a desired end, a 'word of power' to incline the Divine Will to grant human requests. Where God is regarded as a source of supernatural strength to be exploited for personal gain without spiritual effort, be it by prayer, sacrifice, sacrament, or any other means, religion inevitably slips back into magic, since, as we have pointed out, the fundamental distinction between the two disciplines lies in the psychological method of approach. Like the tares and the wheat in the parable, magic and religion have grown up together, and therefore they are always liable to react on one another, so that intercourse with God may become mere trafficking with the supernatural, and entreaty degenerate into threatening compulsion or bribery.

The essence of prayer lies in the spirit of submission and dependence on the Divine Will, as against any attempt to persuade God to acquiesce in human desires. All private considerations must be subordinated so that the supreme end is the universal good, be the cost what it may. 'Nevertheless not My will but Thine be done.' So long as 'the kingdom of God and His righteousness' is always put first, there is no danger of prayer or sacrifice being offered magically. The highest aim of religion is communion with the Deity, and not asking for benefits, for, as Jeremy Taylor has said, 'Prayer is an ascent of the mind to God.'[1] Once this is realized, the true object of desire becomes conformity with the Divine Will which alone constitutes the highest good, though this does not preclude requests for human requirements within the Will of the Divine Providence.

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[1] *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Living* (London, 1686), iv. 7; cf. *Summa Theol.* II–II, qu. lxxxiii. 13.

Heiler distinguishes three types of spiritual life, the mystical, the philosophical, and the prophetic.

> Mysticism must, if it remain true to itself, reject the naive asking for external good things, and everything not directed towards (communion with) God Himself, as unworthy. The earthly is, indeed, a deceptive show without true being, something which ought not to be, a thing without value and therefore a peril for salvation, and a hindrance to union with God. The affections and wishes which assert themselves must not be freely spoken out in prayer, but must be subdued, chained, and slain.[1]

At the same time it is both reasonable and right to pray for material and temporal gifts since Christian prayer presupposes that God is the supreme Creator of all things, and therefore He is able to control natural laws and processes for the realization of the ends demanded by the spiritual relationships into which He enters with His human creatures. This Heiler recognizes, and so he sets over and against the mystical and philosophical types, the prophetic conception of prayer which demands the opening before the Father of human needs in their entirety in faith and expectation.

If the creative genius of man is able to control the forces of Nature for his own ends, there can be no valid objection to the supposition that God, as the originator and sustainer of the universe, can do likewise without any violation of natural law. When all allowance has been made for hallucination, mistaken cause and effect, and the apparent failure of intercessory prayer, the fact remains that striking answers to prayer are solemnly maintained by level-headed people in all ages, as well as by mystically-minded saints. It is difficult to believe that this testimony would persist if it had not some relation to reality. Moreover, we are not left in any doubt what Christ Himself believed and taught about prayer, and, as in the case of the sacraments, for those who accept His Deity, the exercise is at once removed from the category of magic for the reasons we have already stated.

Requests for temporal benefits may not be the highest form of intercession, but, as Heiler says, there is room for the primitive prayer for life and food, for rain and sunshine. This is in accordance with our Lord's commands and example (*S. Luke* xi. 3; *S. Matt.* vi. 11), and, as Sir Oliver Lodge has remarked, to pray for rain no more implies an infringement of natural law than to ask the gardener to water the garden. In answering such prayers God merely employs His own laws for His own purposes, and there can be nothing magical or unscientific in seeking the aid and intervention of God so long as no attempt is made to coerce the Divine Will. It is only when man usurps Divine prerogatives, and tries to control the cosmic order by his own inherent supernatural powers, that prayer becomes spell, the sacramental principle loses its true significance, and religion is transformed into magic.

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[1] *Das Gebet*, 5 Auflage, pp. 369 ff.

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CHAPTER XI

THE SAINTS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

HOWEVER absolute and fundamental may be the ultimate difference between magic and religion, the intimate relationship historically between the two methods of approach to the supernatural makes it inevitable that there should be some convergence and overlapping from time to time. The recent Eucharistic controversy in England has tended to obscure the problem by singling out the sacraments as the centre of magical accretions in Christianity, whereas in actual fact it has been the saints who have been the chief object of superstitious regard. This is hardly surprising in view of the historical circumstances, but we are convinced the situation constitutes a much more serious problem for the Church in the modern world than is generally recognized. For this reason we are devoting a chapter to its consideration in some detail.

The Invocation of Saints

During the first three centuries of the Christian era the invocation of saints is not conspicuous in ecclesiastical literature. The New Testament is singularly devoid of references to the precise relation of the holy dead to the 'saints' on earth, the general attitude showing little if any advance on the later post-exilic conception of the continuance of conscious existence beyond the grave, and the apocalyptic doctrine of the ministry of angels.[1] The parable of Dives and Lazarus merely assumes that there are abodes of joy and misery hereafter without throwing any new light on the relation between the living and the dead. It is not until we reach the Apocalypse, where the souls of the righteous under the altar are represented as crying for the avenging of their blood (*Rev.* vi. 9 f.), that conscious activity seems to find expression in prayer. The martyrs are given white robes (vi. 9, 11), and later, in *The Shepherd* of Hermas, they are spoken of as wearing crowns,[1] while Hippolytus[2] and Tertullian[3] assign to them thrones as fellow-judges with Christ. Simple appeals to the dead occur in the catacombs, but until the date of these inscriptions has been satisfactorily determined, the evidence is inconclusive so far as the early period is concerned, though such data as exist suggest that the faithful departed were asked in the sub-apostolic period to continue their intercessions at the throne of grace. This conclusion accords with the respect shown to the illustrious dead, and with Origen's contention that 'when we pray to God ten thousand holy powers pray with us uninvoked.'[4]

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[1] cf. ch. vii, pp. 120 f.

From these pious requests to departed relatives and friends the custom arose of supplicating individual saints for particular purposes. Thus Gregory of Nazianzus (A.D. 390), in his panegyric upon S. Cyprian, referred to the virgin Justina 'beseeching the Virgin Mary to help a virgin in danger,' when she was assailed by the magician Cyprian before his conversion.[5] Moreover, S. Gregory himself besought S. Cyprian to be a shepherd to his flock and bestow upon them a more perfect and brighter illumination of the Holy Trinity in Whose presence he stood.[6] In the liturgies of the first six centuries no direct appeals to the saints occur, but between A.D. 325 and 450 the practice of invocation of saints and martyrs made very rapid progress, especially in the East, as the writings of the Fathers of this period abundantly testify.[7]

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[1] *Simil.* viii. 3, 6.

[2] *In Dan.* ii. 37.

[3] *De Resurr. carnis*, 43; *de Anima*, 55.

[4] *Adv. Celsum*, viii. 64.

[5] *Orat.* xxiv. 10–11.

[6] xxiv. 19.

[7] cf. Darwell Stone, *The Invocation of Saints* (London, 1909), pp. 14 ff.; H. Delahaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs* (Brussels, 1912), pp. 139 ff.

It was at the close of this period that the cultus of the Blessed Virgin began, and with the multiplication of shrines and saints' days came the oriental practice of translating and dividing relics.

It is at this point that the fundamental question arises. Was this new development a natural evolution from late Jewish belief in the conscious activity of the dead, and the early Christian pious invocation of their departed relatives ; or have extraneous elements entered into the original conception of the communion of saints ? To find the answer we must turn to the historical circumstances of the period. In the first place it becomes apparent that the change in practice synchronized with Constantine's victory over Maxentius in A.D. 312 which brought liberty and power to the Church. Up to this time the veneration of the holy dead had been almost exclusively a family affair, but afterwards it was associated with the tombs of the martyrs, till, as individual saints increased in popularity, they were connected with particular sacred places, which not infrequently were ancient heathen sanctuaries. As shrines multiplied, and appropriate relics were distributed among them, the original cult was transferred to the new 'owner' of the sacred place. Occasionally the pagan deity was canonized, as in the case of Dionysus who became S. Dionysius, but normally it was some of the attributes of the divinity that characterized the saint. Thus the Church fell into the same error as did Israel in the troublous days before the Exile.[1] This is most conspicuous in the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

THE CULTUS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

There can be little doubt that as soon as the fact of the Incarnation was recognized, she who had been selected to be its instrument was given her rightful place in the scheme of Redemption. Mary for unbiassed orthodox Christians must always be the 'co-redemptrix' in the sense that through her surrendered will the Incarnation was made possible in the

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[1] cf. ch. iii, pp. 56 f.

Divine Providence. In the Gospels she is represented as the human mother, blessed and honoured by God in her sacred office, but in no sense ‘the help of Christians’ perpetually succouring the faithful. On the contrary, so far from her being the protectress, she was committed to the care of S. John (*S. John* xix. 36 f.), and for the first three hundred years of the Church’s existence she was regarded and esteemed as the Theotokos. But after the conversion of Constantine, she became the Sovereign Lady to whom the whole creation is made subject by her Son; the bestower of grace and an ever-present help in time of need. Therefore she was at once the Queen of Heaven, Star of the Sea, Lily of Eden, Mother of Sorrows, Co-redemptress and Advocate.[1]

As idealized womanhood the mythological Mary rapidly acquired the attributes of her Divine Son together with those of her proto-type, the Great Mother, who probably from the Aurignacian phase of the Palaeolithic period has symbolized and personified the Female Principle in Nature.[2] In her new guise she was worshipped with doubtful dignity as the Queen of Heaven, the Christian counterpart of Isis. In this rôle she occupied a place in relation to her Son comparable to that which the Egyptian goddess held to Osiris, instead of assuming her rightful position by virtue of her unique dignity as the Theotokos.

As early as the fourth century ‘certain women in Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia’ were rebuked for adoring Mary as a goddess, and offering to her sacred cakes (κολλύριδα τίνα).[3] In process of time she came to be regarded as immaculately conceived and translated bodily to her heavenly throne.[4] As Isis was represented with her son Horus on her lap, so Mary

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[1] cf. H. L. Goudge, *The Invocation of Saints* (London, 1919), p. 29.

[2] G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon* (Manchester, 1919), pp. 150 ff.

[3] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxxix.

[4] cf. W. Ramsay, *Paulinus and other Studies* (London, 1906), pp. 130 f.

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[1] cf. H. L. Goudge, *The Invocation of Saints* (London, 1919), p. 29.

[2] G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon* (Manchester, 1919), pp. 150 ff.

[3] Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxxix.

[4] cf. W. Ramsay, *Paulinus and other Studies* (London, 1906), pp. 130 f.

The cultus of the Virgin is essentially Eastern in origin, Syria being the soil in which the devotion especially flourished, and where the Feast of the Assumption was first observed. The rest of the great festivals in honour of Mary are of Eastern origin, and her cultus received authoritative sanction at the Council of Ephesus in 431. From the fourth century the Syrian Fathers are emphatic in their praise of the Mother of God, just as their Semitic ancestors exalted the Mother Goddess in her beneficent maternal recreative functions.[2] To the Eastern mind, in fact, at the beginning of the Christian era, it must have been wellnigh impossible to differentiate between the Virgin Mother, in her later associations, and the Great Mother. Suffering mothers had been accustomed to resort to the Mother Goddess of Pessinus in their bereavements, and Lucius found in Isis one who 'bestoweth a mother's sweet love upon miserable mortals,' dispelling their storms of life and stretching out her right hand of salvation to struggling men.[3]

If Christianity was to triumph over its competitors, it must either change the whole mental and spiritual outlook of its converts individually, as in Apostolic days, which is obviously a very slow and difficult undertaking, or adapt the Faith to the thought and practice of the age. In following the line of least resistance the Church was able to bring within its borders vast masses of half-converted heathen, but as a result it was compelled to incorporate the quasi-polytheistic system of folk-piety. Rapidly Christianity became the popular and all-prevailing religion of Europe, but the method necessitated adding to the original deposit of the Faith many things adapted from the earlier practices and beliefs of paganism. Thus saints became miracle-workers, and the holy Virgin automatically fell into the place vacated by the Great Mother.

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[1] Christianity was originally aniconic, and it was not until after the first movement against the worship of icons that the Second Council of Nicea (787) declared their veneration (προσκύνησις not λατρεία) a Christian duty.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 56 ff.

[3] Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* xxvii.

As the cultus developed, legendary feasts were instituted in honour of Mary to commemorate her presentation in the Temple, and her seven sorrows, while the building of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline hill in Rome was connected with a vision confirmed by snow falling on the spot, hereafter perpetuated in the Feast of our Lady of the Snow.[1] So rapidly did commemorations increase that in the Breviary offices they are nearly as numerous as those of our Lord, and in popular devotion respect for the Mother not infrequently has eclipsed the worship of the Son in Western Catholicism. Since the Middle Ages attempts have been made to stem the tide, but at the present time the most frequented place of pilgrimage in the West takes its origin from a series of apparitions of the Blessed Virgin alleged to have occurred in 1858, during which she proclaimed, '*Je suis l'immaculée conception.*'

Under more primitive conditions, the cultus survives in many a European backwater in a form which clearly reveals its original character. Thus at Guingamp in Brittany, for instance, on the first Sunday in July the old pagan piety under a thin veneer of Christian symbolism may be witnessed in the famous *Pardon*. Pilgrims carrying lighted candles throng the streets and market-place as the vast procession forms with sailors holding fragments of vessels upon which they have escaped in shipwreck, the lame carrying their crutches, and those rescued from fire, with ropes or ladders in their hands. The whole town, in fact, gives itself up with great reverence and devotion to the Pardon of our Lady of Good Succour, just as formerly it observed the Fire Festival at this season. The miraculous image of 'Madame Marie de Bon Secours' appears, resplendent in satin and crowned, amid a great array of banners, lights, and clouds of incense, blending harmoniously with the strains of ancient Celtic canticles.

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[1] Actually the church had been built for centuries before the legend arose; cf. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, vol. xi, p. 361.

'Tis she who giveth sight once more to eyes that long were blind.
She cures the deaf and heals the lame, doth Madame Marie kind.
The languishing are cured by her, the dumb man learns to sing,
To every poor afflicted soul doth she her comfort bring.

At sunset a huge bonfire is lighted in the market-place, either by a priest or sometimes from the church, as in the case of the *scoppio del carro* at Florence exploded on Holy Saturday by a mechanical dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost. In both rites any defect in the operation is thought to be a bad omen for the crops.

THE CULT OF SANTIAGO AT COMPOSTELA

This transference of the attributes of pre-Christian deities to the Virgin has its counterpart in the veneration of local saints in every land, the Church having taken over pre-existing shrines and invested them with a Christian significance by associating them with a particular saint, in the hope that thereby they would become powerful aids to the Faith.[1] This may be illustrated by reference to the great mediaeval legend of Santiago de Compostela, which made the obscure Galician town one of the most frequented places in Europe for centuries. The foundations of the shrine and its legend, however, belong to a remote period long before the days of Christian pilgrimages.

Christianity apparently reached Spain before the close of the first century, but little progress was made towards the conversion of the Iberian peninsula till the ninth century. True, since the conversion of Constantine the country had been nominally Christian, but with the widespread survival of the old religion among the *pagani*, or heath-men in the rural districts, and the spread of Islam after the Saracen invasion in 710, the Faith was only kept alive by the few

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[1] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book i, chap. xxx (Gidley's translation).

Visigoths who had retreated to the mountains, and eventually settled in the north-west under Pelayo, whom they made King of Asturias. In 751 Alfonso of Cantabria, the son-in-law of the new monarch, began a series of successful campaigns against the Moors, which resulted in the recovery of Asturias, Galicia, Leon, and Old Castile.

It was about this time that the cult of S. James was first introduced into Spain, 'the sacred bones of the blessed Apostle,' it was alleged, having been carried thither, and 'to the uttermost confines thereof, namely those which are situated opposite to the British Sea, were honoured by the most distinguished worship of the people there.'[1] Pardiae in his account of the pilgrimage to Compostela, gives 816 as the year in which the remains of the Apostle were found there,[2] Vasaeus assigning the event to 798.[3] It would seem, then, that the sudden discovery of the body at the dawn of the ninth century was connected with the Christian campaign against the Moors, and it is not improbable that the legend of Santiago at Compostela was invented to stimulate military zeal by giving the Christians a war-cry similar to that of the Mohammedans. In later times S. James's patronage of Spain was explained in relation to the dominion of S. John at Ephesus, the two disciples thus sitting on thrones, one on the right, and the other on the left of the central Papal chair of the Vicar of Christ at Rome. But this was an interpretation of the geographical facts rather than the cause of the phenomenon.

According to Diego Gelmirez, the first Archbishop of Compostela, the body of S. James was conveyed by the Apostles to Joppa, where they embarked and eventually reached Iria, at the mouth of the River Ulla, Galicia. On landing the body they carried it to Libredon where they buried it near a stone idol much venerated by the pagans, the megalith being used to construct the tomb destined to become the great shrine of Santiago de Compostela. The conversion of the people immediately followed.[1] Canon Ferreiro supplements this eleventh-century *Historia Compostelana* with some important details of the translation of the saint's body from Iria, showing that the grave was dug on a conical mountain, called Monte Illicino, which contained gold and was guarded by a serpent. The disciples broke down 'druidical altars,' and erected a sepulchre which he describes as a 'Arca Marmorea.' This is almost certainly an ancient megalithic tomb of the type known as a passage dolmen.[2] From A.D. 44 to 813 this tomb seems to have been neglected till suddenly celestial music was heard accompanied by a supernatural light in its vicinity. Upon investigation a 'pagan stone idol' (i.e. megalith) was discovered in a copse, and beneath it the sarcophagus containing the body of S. James, duly authenticated by an appropriate inscription.[3] Henceforth the shrine became one of the chief pilgrimage centres of mediaeval Europe.

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[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, vi Julii, *De S. Jacobo Majori*, 6.

[2] *Pèlerinage de Compostella* (Bordeaux, 1863).

[3] *Acta Sanctorum*, op. cit., p. 15.

There can be little doubt that here we have an instructive example of the transition of a pre-Christian megalithic monument into a Catholic shrine, the mountain (Pico Sacro), like that of Montserrat near Barcelona on the opposite coast, having been a sacred place where cures were wrought from time immemorial.[4] Most of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Santiago contain stone circles and other megalithic remains, and ancient trackways, suggesting that the Galician coast in this region was an important cult centre in prehistoric times, comparable to Avebury in Neolithic Britain. As Mr. Howes has pointed out, being near the coast, Santiago de Compostela would be a convenient meeting-place for men from the mountains and men from the sea.[5] A common centre promotes not only exchange of goods but also the exchange of ideas, and votaries from far and wide doubtless resorted to the Pico Sacro with its megalithic remains and significant legends. In order to spiritualize the heathen shrine and its cult, the Church identified it with S. James, who, like Jacob in the Old Testament, is persistently connected with sacred stones at Padrón (the Iria Flavia of the Romans).

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[1] Florez, *España sagrada*, xx.

[2] cf. E. T. Leeds in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxx, 1920, p. 203.

[3] A. L. Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela* (Santiago, 1898–1910).

[4] From recent inquiries made in this district by the present writer, it seems that the peasants still occasionally resort to the Pico Sacro for magical purposes.

[5] *Folk-lore*, vol. xxxvi, no. 2, June, 1925, p. 149.

Around the menhir of Iria Flavia the legend seems to have been woven in the eighth century to detach the cult from its original associations, though exactly how much of the story was derived from earlier myths cannot yet be determined. The political circumstances of the time, however, as we have seen, appear to have had a profound influence on the form it assumed, while the popularity of the shrine in the Middle Ages doubtless owed much to the Cluniacs. Thus in the twelfth century an unknown French writer wrote a lengthy account of Compostela[1] which was evidently widely circulated and led many to Santiago from Brittany, Wales, and Ireland, where megalithic remains abound.[2] In Brittany, as in many other places, menhirs have crosses incised or carved on them, and rites are still performed at them. Two remarkable carved pillar-stones occur in Guernsey, one of which was found just inside the chancel of the Parish Church of Ste. Marie-du-Castel, and a second stone of about the same size stood in the churchyard of Ste. Martin-de-la-Beilleuse, called 'La Gran'-mère du Chimquière.' It was *une pierre sainte*, and old men remember the times in which it was 'feared more than it now is.'[3] In Iona a black stone, at which solemn oaths were sworn, was preserved in the cathedral until 1830, when it disappeared, and a similar stone was worshipped in the Hebrides till recently.[4] In Cornwall a bonfire was lighted at Midsummer on a megalith called Garrack Zans, around which young people danced, and at Cape Clear in Co. Cork a cross cut on a menhir is said to have been the work of S. Kieran. Here the peasants gather on March 5th to celebrate his festival. Such survivals as these show how deeply rooted stone-worship is in folk-religions in these districts.

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[1] J. Bedier, *Les Legendes épiques* (Paris, 1912), vol. iii, pp. 39 ff.

[2] G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement* (Y Cymmrodor), vol. xxiii, pp. 244 ff.

[3] E. McCullock, *Guernsey Folk-lore*, edited by E F. Carey (1903), pp. 131 ff.

[4] C. F. Gordon-Cummings, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 70.

As the popularity of Santiago grew, the legend became more and more romantic, and gave Compostela an incomparable position in Christendom. In its final form the story is as follows: After preaching in Damascus, S. James journeyed to Galicia and instructed the people in the Christian Faith, making Iria Flavia (Padrón) his centre. While at this place he had a vision of our Lady, who bade him build a church there. This he did, and, having placed a bishop in charge, he continued his journey through Aragon, Castile, and Andalucia. Finally he returned to Jerusalem, and was beheaded by Herod. His disciples, accompanied by an angel, bore his body by night to Joppa, where they found prepared for them a miraculous stone ship or marble sarcophagus. In this they set sail, and reached the harbour of Iria, on the Galician coast, just as the famous statue of Notre Dame-de-Boulogne is alleged to have come to its destination in a boat rowed by celestial beings. When nearing the end of their journey they saw a man riding on the shore, whose horse, being restive, plunged into the sea, and then walked on the crest of the waves towards them. Suddenly, as they watched, horse and rider disappeared, but shortly emerged covered with shells. Henceforth shells became the emblem of S. James and of all pilgrims.

It would seem that the shrine of the Apostle was originally a megalithic monument at which rites had been performed probably from prehistoric times. The background of the Christian legend is undoubtedly this megalithic cult which the Church naturally desired to suppress. This was done by sublimating the stone worship, and substituting S. James, a saint elsewhere connected with the cult of stones, for the pagan divinity. A reminiscence of this transformation seems to survive in the account of the bringing of the body to the villa of a Roman lady governing the district of Iria Flavia. In the grounds stood a stone image of the god Janus, and no sooner was the holy body brought within the doors than the pagan deity was dashed to the ground. With the dust of the former object of worship the disciples made a strong cement from which they fashioned a stone sepulchre and a little altar supported by arches. Later a church was built, and then the disciples departed leaving the holy sepulchre in the charge of S. Athanasius and S. Theodosius. If, as Ferreiro maintains, the tomb was in the form of an *arca* or *mamoa*, this confirms the megalithic origin of the shrine, and since the monument appears to have been a cult centre of considerable importance, it would readily tend to become a Mecca in its revived glory.

Around the famous shrine the fascinating old-world city has developed, and like Toledo, Segovia, and Avila, to this day its pristine splendour has been preserved. It is still the goal of pilgrims who travel thither, with typical Spanish devotion, to venerate the mortal remains of S. James, oblivious of, or unmoved by, the fact that the magnificent Romanesque Church of S. Sernin at Toulouse claims also to enshrine the relics of the same Apostle. Any doubts that may arise in sceptical minds are solved perhaps by the reassuring thought that after all a human body is capable of division into many parts ; an explanation, alas, which is less convincing when the head of S. John the Baptist is encountered, whole or in part, at Amiens, Nemours, and St. Jean d'Angeli in France, and yet again at San Silvestro in Capite in Rome. But the authenticity of the sacred relic of Compostela has been established by the Bull, *Omnipotens Deus*, of Leo XIII, issued in November, 1884, in which the declaration of Cardinal Pelayo, Archbishop of Compostela, concerning the identity of the bodies of S. James and his disciples, Athanasius and Theodosius, is solemnly confirmed.

This interesting example of the transition of a pagan sanctuary into a Christian shrine and place of pilgrimage illustrates the way in which primitive cults were absorbed by the Church, and their original significance preserved in Christian legend. In mediaeval Europe, as in pre-exilic Israel, it was to the local shrines the people were wont to resort, and Santiago represents one of the most powerful centres of Christian mythology and passionate devotion. As such it helped to make Christianity an inconquerable force in men's lives. The Gallegans are possessed of strong passions and emotions, and inspired by the illusion of the legend with its attendant miracles, erected in a few short years, in a remote corner of Spain, the mightiest city in Christendom. This spirit still survives, and if the fervour has in some measure decreased with the passage of years, yet pilgrims still flock on occasions to Compostela to venerate the mortal remains of their patron which they believe to be enshrined in the silver casket within the imposing Romanesque cathedral.

FOLK-PIETY IN SPAIN

Around the doctrine of the invocation of saints there has grown up a system of Christianized paganism which has succeeded in making religion the most vital thing in the world to thousands of the most devoted sons of Holy Church, for to dismiss the Catholicism of a country like Spain as mere outward observance of obsolete superstitions, is to fail to grasp the true spirit of the land. The piety and fervour developed by this system, so foreign to our English mentality, is probably quite incomprehensible to the average traveller from our shores, but to those who have come into intimate contact with the real life of Spain, and who are temperamentally capable of entering into its devotion, there can be no manner of doubt about the intense reality of a religion which touches every aspect of the daily routine. The familiar peasant farewell, *Vaya Vd. con Dios* (Go, with God) is something more than a form of salutation, for religion is stamped on the souls of the people. Thus it is as natural and inevitable to provide a chapel at every bull-ring, where those taking part can hear Mass before entering the arena, as it is to make the sign of the Cross in a public conveyance on starting on a journey, or in passing a church, or to go without food that the local statue may have a new cloak.

Inheriting a dual civilization from the Moors and Crusaders, both of which were permeated with religious fervour, the Spaniard lives and moves and has his being in his faith. Moreover, despite a veneer of twentieth-century culture, a mediaeval atmosphere still pervades this delightful land of prehistoric art, Moorish mosques and palaces, walled cities, fragrant flowers and luscious fruits. Cars may pass through the mediaeval gates of Toledo, or thread their way along the narrow streets of Santiago, while electric light illuminates many a primitive dwelling in remote villages in Cantabria and Asturias, but the nightly cry of the *serenos*, 'Hail Mary! twelve o'clock and all serene,' brings to the semi-consciousness of the sleeper a remembrance that the Middle Ages linger on into the twentieth century in the seclusion of the Peninsula.

This is most apparent, however, in the daily round of fast and festival, when on such occasions as Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and the Assumption, great cities like Madrid, Valencia, and Seville abandon themselves to pious exercises and spectacular processions. Furthermore, the innumerable lesser feasts, especially those connected with local objects of veneration, are zealously observed. Thus in Valencia, for example, the annual *fiesta* of *Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados*, the patroness of the city, which falls in the second week in May, is one of the chief holidays of the year, when vast crowds of worshippers foregather in the church of *Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados* in the Plaza de la Constitution near the cathedral, and kneel in rapt devotion before the sacred image over the altar. Or, again, proceeding along the Mediterranean coast northwards to Barcelona, there is Montserrat, the ancient sacred mountain of the Catalonians, where a shrine of our Lady, which at one time attracted sixty thousand pilgrims annually, is still widely venerated, especially by newly-married couples. A hundred similar sacred spots have their devotees, and even their rivalries, like the local shrines in Babylonia and Egypt. If the glory of some centres of pilgrimage has in a measure departed, as in the case of Santiago, others have arisen to take their place. Thus the figure of our Lady of Guadalupe, said to have been carved by S. Luke himself, was recently crowned in the presence of the king, and on March 30, 1919, the agonizing crucifix at Limpias was alleged to have suffered again the agony of Calvary during a mission.

Hitherto the intellectual standard of the masses of the population has been very low, and it is no uncommon occurrence to meet adults who can neither read nor write. Moreover, unlike France, such education as has been given has been mainly in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities. At present the Religious Orders educate fully one-half of the children who receive elementary instruction, the other half having practically no education at all, so inadequate have been the government arrangements. Things are now improving in this direction, but although the Church does not seem to look with much favour upon movements towards secular education, it has little to fear so long as the present régime continues. Both the Marqués de Estella, and the Minister of Education, Señor Callejo, are Catholics, and with the aid of government grants the Church will be able to maintain its hold on the situation, especially as now certain colleges are empowered by Royal Decree to grant degrees. This will enable the Augustinian college at the Escorial, and the Jesuit University School at Duesto, near Bilbao, to compete with the State institutions. The Dictator, like Mussolini, knows the value of the support of the Church, and he does not underestimate its hold on the people. Therefore he has set his face against any serious attempt to secularize education. But these conditions can hardly remain for ever.[1]

Already, and on every hand, there is evidence of the rapid progress of the modernizing movement. The elegant mantilla is more and more giving place to the less becoming hat, except on ceremonial occasions, the up-to-date woman assuming the *mode à la parisienne*, while the picturesque peasant costumes are less and less conspicuous even in rural districts, especially among the rising generation. These are signs of the times, and it is significant that the Church does not favour these changes in custom any more than it gives its blessing to educational reforms.

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[1] It now remains to be seen what effect the changes which have taken place in the Constitution since this chapter was written will have on the ecclesiastical situation.

Hitherto the difference in gauge of the Spanish railways, and the difficulty of internal communication away from the main lines, have tended to preserve the seclusion of the Peninsula, but the construction of excellent new *autopistas* (motor roads) covering several thousand miles, often far away from the beaten track of the railway routes, to say nothing of the new Pyrenean line from Toulouse to Barcelona, and the proposed standardizing of the gauge from the frontier to this latter city, are calculated to disseminate everywhere new ideas and modern civilization. Rotary clubs and similar organizations are springing up to stimulate social and intellectual life among men and women, in spite of a campaign denouncing them as anti-religious, while wireless waves know no territorial boundaries.

In these, and countless other ways, the old order is gradually passing away, and it has yet to be determined whether the Church will be able to maintain its influence in the new Spain that is coming to the birth. It is significant, perhaps, that a casual reference to a local saint by the present writer during a recent visit to an obscure village in Murcia, called forth the reply, ‘We do not believe in these things now that we have been taught new things.’ A straw indicates the direction in which the wind is blowing.

THE UNCHANGING EAST

I have concentrated attention on Spain by way of illustration of the main contention of this chapter, because that happens to be the country of which I have the most intimate personal knowledge. But the same phenomena occurs in many another similar region. Thus in Dalmatia and the Balkans, where Orthodoxy has held sway from the time of the Greek Fathers to the present day, the beliefs and practices of a remote past have survived almost unchanged since Thessaly was the home of magic and witchcraft. The

Romans brought new gods, and then came Christianity ; and while Christianity was endeavouring to establish itself, Mithraism nearly obtained the mastery. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved, the Turk came with yet other beliefs and usages. As each wave subsided, the original substratum has come to the surface, covered with the débris left by the ebbing tide. But no one has yet entirely succeeded in removing the rock on which the cultures were founded.[1]

In South-East Europe the Western scheme of historical development is wholly inapplicable, there being no movement in this region parallel to our mediaeval Scholasticism, Renaissance, Reformation, and Industrial Revolution. Byzantinism is the fundamental cultural element in the East, for though it was temporarily submerged by Slavic and Turkish inroads, it was never eradicated, while the more recent French influence in Russia was merely a veneer among the educated without having any effect on the native peasant populations. Culturally and religiously Eastern Europe is essentially oriental in its outlook, having racial affinities with Indo-European stocks, and a Byzantine mentality very difficult for us Westerners to comprehend. Thus a Russian woman on being asked if she had made a long journey alone, has been known to reply, ‘ No, I was not alone ; I had my soul for company.’ It is this mystical strain which predominates in the Slavic countries where Orthodoxy prevails, and it is the characteristic feature of Eastern worship, so perplexing to the Western mind.

In the long years during which the Orthodox Church has pursued the even tenor of its ancient ways, amid sore persecution and countless vicissitudes, a type of Christianity has been maintained differing both in idea and practice from that of the West. Its adherents live in a world of eternal spiritual values, often denying the cultural values of modern civilization, and quite incapable of thinking in scientific terms. Thus Professor Zankov, speaking from his intimate knowledge of his own communion, says that 'the typical orthodox Christian feels that the seeds of all the flowers in the garden of the human world come from heaven, and that they can only prosper when they can stretch their stems directly to heaven and from thence receive nourishment. Only from this perspective has earthly life a real value for the orthodox Christian; only so can he have joy in it.'[1]

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[1] cf. M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (London, 1928), for abundant illustration of this fact.

This world-view finds expression in a richly-developed symbolical cult in which miraculous icons and holy relics play a prominent part. As has been pointed out above, the cultus of the Virgin originated in the East, and the veneration of Mary and the saints has always been an important phase of Orthodox devotion. Thus in Rumania, where the autocephalous Church is now numerically the largest of the Orthodox Churches outside Russia, there is a miraculous icon of our Lady at Neamțu, while the relics of S. John the New at Suceava have made the capital of Ștefan Cel Mare a Rumanian Lourdes. During the German occupation of Bucharest the relics of S. Dumitru Bessarabov were removed by the Bulgarians, but it is alleged that they were miraculously prevented from conveying them to their country. They have now been recovered and reinstated in their shrine which has become a popular centre of devotion.

There are, in fact, few districts in Europe in which primitive customs and beliefs have survived to a greater extent than in Rumania. Thus M. Beza, the Consul-General in London, tells us that he prayed to the moon in his childhood, and accompanied the procession of the bride-goddess to the various fountains, and wore ritual disguises.[2] On Christmas Eve carols containing reminiscences are sung by boys of the opposition between the old spirit of decay and the new fertilizing spirit, while many of the songs recall the Sumerian hymns describing the sorrowful pilgrimage of the Mother Goddess in search of her son, and the effects of his death on the life of Nature. The carols and legends of the

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[1] S. Zankov, *The Eastern Orthodox Church*, translated by D. A. Lowrie (London, 1929), pp. 127 f.

[2] Beza, *Paganism in Roumanian Folk-lore* (London, 1928), p. v.

Lady Mary[1] can hardly be other than the quest for Osiris or Adonis or Dionysos, and the same applies to the hobby-horse dance closely connected with the observance of All Souls which is kept on Whitsunday. During the dance one of the performers feigns death, and is then restored to life, as in the pantomimic ritual of Dionysos.

On the Monday before the Assumption groups of maidens make the figure of a youth in clay, place it in a coffin, and cover it with a pall, flowers, and aromatic plants. They then slowly raise it and carry it in procession with lights and incense to a secluded spot near poplar trees, where they bury it. On the third day at dawn they proceed to the place, unearth the coffin, and after singing a lament over it in which they beseech the figure to open the gates of heaven and send down rain, they throw it into running water or a well. The figure now is supposed to represent S. John the Baptist whose connection with water is obvious, but originally it was doubtless Osiris, Attis, or Tammuz. On S. John's Eve the marriage of Dionysos is celebrated in connection with the summer solstice, and the folk-songs preserve the innermost meaning of the Eleusinian legends—the mystic nuptials of a mortal maiden with a god in which all Nature takes a share.

It is by no means true to suppose, however, that Rumanian religion consists only of folk-lore and Christianized pagan observance, there being abundant evidence of very real piety and devotion in accordance with the best traditions of Orthodox spirituality. Mount Athos, which has been the centre of Christian culture and learning throughout the ages, and many other Greek monasteries, owe much to this region, while its steadfastness during the wars against the Turks protected the culture and religion of Europe from the onslaughts of Islam. If, as some think, the decline of the West has set in, it is conceivable that the South-East has yet its part to play in some future renaissance. Nevertheless, the fact remains that primitive beliefs and customs have survived here almost unchanged from pre-Christian times with the thinnest possible veneer of Christianity. Whether it is to remain for ever a stagnant backwater, or become the rallying point of progressive civilization, depends on how far it is able to assimilate modern culture, and reform its theological outlook. The unification of the churches of the old kingdom of Rumania, Transylvania, Bukowina, and Bessarabia into a Patriarchate in 1925, and the adoption of a vernacular Liturgy, reveal a new spirit which has found expression in a desire to gain a more intimate acquaintance with Western Christianity, despite the age-long unedifying controversy with the Papacy in this region. It is clearly the duty of the West to foster this movement.

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[1] M. Gaster in *Folk-lore*, March, 1923, pp. 45 ff.

THE SEPARATED CHURCHES OF THE EAST

Outside the main stream of Orthodoxy, the decadent separated Churches of the East constitute an even greater problem. The conditions surrounding the Nestorian, Jacobite, Coptic, and Armenian 'schismatic' churches are more primitive than anything we encounter elsewhere. With the decline of the Middle East, these once vigorous communions rapidly lost touch with the rest of European Christianity and culture, and thus became fossilized and immobile. The Nestorians, which are said to have been the largest Christian community in the early Middle Ages, have now only four bishops in Northern Iraq, while the Copts represent only six per cent of the population of Egypt. Pagan survivals, of course, abound everywhere. Thus, for example, in Abyssinia the cultus of the Virgin is connected with mountain shrines, springs, and the sycamore trees sacred to Hathor in Ancient Egypt. Supernatural beings like Takla Haimanot and Gabra Manfas Qeddus perform miracles, while innumerable evil spirits are thought to possess certain animals, and to inhabit the cemeteries and places where the grass refuses to grow. As a protection against these malevolent influences magic prayers, written on scrolls and carried in little leather cases, are worn round the neck and arms; or the spirits may be exorcized by burning the root of the ghost-tree.[1]

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[1] E. Littmann, 'The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll,' *Princeton University Bulletin*, 1903–4.

THE PROBLEM OF FOLK-RELIGION

This problem of folk-religion, which finds expression mainly in connection with the veneration of saints, is so remote from the outlook of the educated Englishman that the subject is seldom seriously considered by scholars and theologians, while the untravelled layman is scarcely aware of its existence. But inasmuch as it represents the Catholic Faith in practice for thousands who profess and call themselves Christians in East and West alike, the subject merits the same careful attention it has received for other purposes by the anthropologist. Furthermore, it is not confined to the illiterate, or to any one communion, a fact which the controversalist may well bear in mind before he uses it for his own purposes. If it is more conspicuous among the peasant populations in the Balkans and the remoter parts of Western Europe, it is by no means absent in France, Belgium, or the British Isles, for everywhere the lore of the people is magico-religious in origin, and there is a universal tendency to revert to type in the conception of the supernatural.

The human mind is a complex organ, and capable of reacting to stimuli in very varied ways. At the present day the prevailing type of thought in the more progressive countries is what Jung calls ‘ directed thinking ’—that of imitating reality and seeking to act upon it.[1] This mode of thinking, however, is of comparatively late development, primitive people always being more inclined towards subjective impulses and wish fulfilments than to reality.[2] ‘ Phantasy thinking ’ is pre-scientific inasmuch as it is based on a conception of Nature which is not organized in conformity with the fundamental principles of modern science. Hence it is productive of legends to explain the inexplicable, and it is controlled by assumptions which are commonly excluded among people who think in terms of natural law and natural causation.

If survivals of this earlier mode of thought are more apparent in Catholic than in Protestant countries, it is largely because the Church has made a deeper and more lasting impression on the life of the people than has Protestantism. The Reformation by banishing the saints to comparative obscurity removed one of the most prevalent occasions of pagan survival, but while it would not be difficult to justify this action, it cannot be said that sixteenth-century iconoclasm destroyed the old ways of thinking. Thus in North-East Scotland, within living memory children were dipped every year in sacred springs, and great concourses of people assembled at a sacred well at Avoch on the first Sunday in May to drink the water before sunrise, depositing a thread or piece of clothing on a briar bush near by. 'It was not without astonishment,' wrote Sir Arthur Mitchell in 1862, 'that in so Protestant a part of Protestant Scotland as the parish of Avoch, I found the bush above Craiguck well, when I visited it last summer, literally covered with such offerings.'[1] And at this same well Miss Gordon Cummings tells of an old man going down to the brae in great haste as the first rays of the sun appeared. Falling on his knees he took a draught with the correct incantation. Then he arose and said, 'O Lord, Thou knowest that weel would it be for me this day an' I had stoopit my knees and my heart before Thee in spirit and in truth as often as I have stoopit them afore this well. But we maun keep the custom of our fathers.' So he stepped aside among the rest and dedicated his offering to the briar bush.[2]

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[1] *Psychology of the Unconscious* (London, 1921), p. 11.

[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1917–18, p. 387.

These are but typical examples, which could be multiplied indefinitely, showing that the survival of paganism is not made to cease merely by laying violent hands on saints of blessed memory. The solution of the problem lies far deeper, ultimately becoming a question of psychology. So long as phantasy-thinking prevails it will find expression in magico-religious practice, be it in connection with saints and shrines, or with cars and mascots.

[1] J. M. McPherson, *Primitive Beliefs in North-East Scotland* (London, 1929), p. 59.

[2] C. F. G. Cummings, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 209.

After launching a furious crusade against paganism, the Church, following the advice of S. Gregory and S. Augustine, attempted a policy of transformation in place of that of destruction. The old gods and goddesses were given a place in the celestial hierarchy, and their annual commemorations utilized for devotional purposes. But old beliefs have a remarkable persistency, and it is easier to incorporate than to transform. So another reformation became necessary. Once more the process of ruthless repression was repeated with similar results. This time a new system of folk-religion emerged in Protestant guise in which the saints were virtually excluded, and the supernatural order made so remote as to be out of reach of the majority. God has tended to become to the unsophisticated the 'One Above,' disinterested in human affairs, while for the learned the concept of Deity sometimes would appear to mean little more than a complicated constellation of positive and negative electrons. The Virgin Mother has been dethroned from her questionable heavenly sovereignty to a position which is scarcely more in accord with her lofty office, and in striking contrast to the honour paid to her by the earliest Christian writers. If the effectual fervent prayers of a righteous man avail beyond the grave, as the early Christians seem to have believed, and as common sense suggests they must, it is difficult to deny to the Mother of our Lord a function in the divine scheme of intercession. It is only when she is removed from her true place at the foot of the Cross to the right hand of the majesty on high that she tends to become confused with a very different maternal object of veneration.

Similarly with regard to the rest of the saints. Their place in the scheme of Redemption is the basis, and the only basis for their invocation, resting on their holiness and nearness to the Beatific Vision of the awful purity of God. Thus regarded, the communion of saints is a point of contact with spiritual reality, but when it is confused with localized polytheism, it loses its true significance and perpetuates the ideas and practices of the cult into which it has become incorporated. Therefore while the Christianization of paganism may have preserved Europe from many debasing practices, grave moral evils were not infrequently connected with the veneration of the saints in the Middle Ages, because the link with ultimate Reality was broken.

THE SAINTS AND THE SUPERNATURAL

The supernatural character of the Christian vocation finds expression in human personalities, for the kingdom of God is within the soul, the divine working through the human as a great sacramental action completing the development of personality. Within the soul there is the power to respond to the higher appreciations of the spirit which is quickened by divine grace to enable us to perceive and react to spiritual realities and values.

> Wheresoever there are acts, experiences, necessities of sheer self-surrender, in the deepest search and work within the visible and temporal, the contingent and relative, to the Invisible, the Eternal, and the Unconditional; wheresoever such self-surrender is from those temporalities, apprehended as such, to these Eternities, accepted, adored, as such: there is the Supernatural.[1]

The saints in all ages, by reason of the supernatural character of their lives, bring us into contact with spiritual values and ultimate Reality. In popular religion there is a tendency to think in terms of a dualistic universe divided into a 'natural' and a 'supernatural' realm with particular manifestations, powers, and operations peculiar to each. Therefore anything extraordinary in the natural order has been interpreted as a 'supernatural intervention,' and assigned to the agency of a 'supernatural' (i.e. wonder-working) denizen. Hence the intimate connection between the saints and folk-religion and phantasy-thinking. This primitive attitude towards the mysterious and sacred, as something outside natural causation and rational explanation, has been dispelled once and for all by modern scientific investigation of cause and effect. Unfortunately, however, the elimination of this conception of the supernatural has left the masses in our new industrial civilizations in a state of crude materialism in which spiritual values play no integral part. So the last state of the modern world in this respect seems to be worse than the first.

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[1] Baron von Hügel, *Essays and Addresses in the Philosophy of Religion* (London, 1921), p. 198.

There is, nevertheless, the other way, and the true way, of interpreting the concept which is by no means incompatible with twentieth-century thought. As Baron von Hügel says:

> By supernatural we mean nothing preternatural, nothing even essentially miraculous, nothing that men cannot experience. We mean acts, experiences, necessities which though distinct, not only from all evil but also from all simply natural goodness, are found among men in their nobler moments—in the appreciation of Goodness, Beauty, and Truth.[1]

It is just these qualities which have been most conspicuous in the saints from the Blessed Mother and the Apostles to the humblest hero in the kingdom of God, to say nothing of the Hebrew prophets. It was a supernatural mode of life in these terms that Christ committed to His followers (*S. Luke* xvii. 21 ; 1 *Cor.* ii. 10 ; xv. 45 ff. ; *Rom.* viii. 10, 16 ; *Gal.* v. 16 ff. ; *Phil.* ii. 5), and sainthood means the development of a supernatural personality in a natural environment rather than a working of nature miracles, the creation of a cultus, or even of martyrdom.

Living under a dispensation of mingled Nature and Supernature human actions are raised and transformed by supernatural facts and apprehensions revealing themselves in corporate as well as in individual experience. Christ introduced a new world-order of Reality at the Incarnation into which the Apostolic consciousness passed, and it is to this that the saints essentially belong. Had they been invoked corporately instead of as individuals connected with specific places and functions, a great many of the abuses might have been avoided, and the Reformation reaction prevented. In seeking communion with the spirits of just men made perfect we are reaching towards a higher order of Reality and spiritual values which characterize the Christian vocation and are notoriously inconspicuous in many departments of modern society. This supernatural atmosphere is destroyed in great measure by pagan survival and mechanistic materialism, but its increasing incorporation into human life would mean the coming of the kingdom of God.

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[1] op. cit., pp. 197 f.

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CHAPTER XII

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE MODERN WORLD

EVERY age has doubtless thought that its problems are unique in human history, but there is very excellent reason for the adoption of this attitude in the civilized world at the present time. Long before the war, the new industrial civilization which came into being with lightning rapidity as a result of the application of the scientific method to production, had entirely changed the occupation and outlook of thousands, especially in our great cities; but when the crash came in 1914 the break with the past was completed. The smashing process was stupendous, and more far-reaching than is sometimes realized, penetrating even to backwaters in which the tide of human progress has been arrested for centuries. If it has furnished an opportunity for society to move forward in a new adjustment on a larger and broader plan of life than has been hitherto attempted, the problems created by the upheaval are staggering in their magnitude, and not least those that confront the Church in the modern world.

HISTORIC CHRISTIANITY AND MODERN THOUGHT

On the one hand there are the thousands of ardent Christians, Catholic and Protestant alike, who are still living in what from the standpoint of modern thought may be described as a primitive state of mentality. If this is most apparent in the folk-piety of Catholic countries, it is, as we have seen, also conspicuous in the more remote Protestant districts such as in the rural and maritime parts of North-East

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Scotland, to say nothing of the less picturesque outlook of the Fundamentalists, who are still firmly entrenched in English and American religious organizations. On the other hand, everywhere a new order is rapidly becoming established, and with the spread of education, and the dissemination of 'directed thinking,' the old régime with its phantasy-thinking must, it would seem, eventually be discarded. So the question forces itself upon us, Will historic Christianity, and institutional religion generally, survive the process?

In a world in which thought, institutions, and laws are changing so rapidly, old dogmas and traditional authorities must inevitably lose much of their force, and appear to many in the light of discarded antiquated doctrines and disciplines. In commending the Faith to quite simple folk, and those whose religion is based on their own spiritual experience, it is still possible to rest its claims on the Church's own inherent authority confirmed by that of the Sacred Scriptures, but every year the number of those who are prepared to take their religion on trust is speedily diminishing as critical investigation in every department of thought becomes established. Already a considerable and growing proportion of educated people are convinced that historic Christianity has been rendered untenable by the new world outlook, and many devout and practising Christians have a haunting suspicion that the foundations of their beliefs are none too securely laid. The Bible, in spite of its spiritual and literary appeal, seems to reflect so frequently a discarded world-view, and even the central doctrines enshrined in the official formularies of the Church, appear to many minds to be devoid of historical reality, only too often because intelligent congregations, untrained in the subtleties of symbolic thought, are left by the clergy to choose between the claims of faith and reason. It is therefore hardly surprising if they are bewildered by the apparently conflicting evidence which they encounter daily from a hundred different directions.

This fact was rightly stressed in the *Pastoral Letter to the Church of England* issued last year by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York:

'Among our own people, and not least among the young,' they say, 'there are many who are perplexed by difficulties or haunted by the fear that new knowledge is shaking the foundations of their Faith. To them the Church owes a twofold duty. It must give them in fuller measure chances of learning what the Christian Faith really is. It must show them that through new light thrown upon the Bible and new discoveries of science rightly understood we are reaching a new knowledge of God and of His ways of revealing Himself. The Holy Spirit of God is worshipped and glorified when men are willing to be guided by Him into all truth.'

The permanent Faith of the Church—the Gospel of ultimate Reality—has been revealed once and for all, but 'what has thus been given must be ever newly grasped—made real in life, interpreted and expressed to meet the needs of each successive age.'

In the foregoing pages we have produced reasons for our belief that the ancient Creeds of the united Church represent the best statements of the permanent Faith of Christendom, which, we are convinced, is independent of any particular philosophy or world-view. Nevertheless, since our philosophical and scientific outlook has undergone a fundamental change as knowledge has increased, a reconsideration and restatement of the terms of the permanent elements enshrined in the older categories of thought become imperative requirements of the age. Here, however, we are faced with problems of great complexity. In the past, reformations and reinterpretations have not infrequently proved to be reactionary, so that in the attempt to bring the Faith into line with contemporary thought, and to purge it of accretions, partial truths have been over-emphasized, and cardinal verities obscured or even denied.

Thus in the Northern European countries, where the Reformation in the sixteenth century did its work most successfully, in removing the mediaeval encrustrations from the original deposit of the Faith the practice of religion became so weakened in the turmoil that to this day the crowded Southern shrines stand out in marked contrast to the empty

Northern benches. As the religious leaders in Israel discovered, it is easy enough to destroy Shiloh and Bethel, but it is exceedingly difficult to establish and maintain ethical worship in a central sanctuary. If the Latin and the Slav countries are faced with the problem of a Christianized paganism, the so-called Teutonic lands are up against the idolatrous worship of scientific materialism coupled with a new polytheism in which every man worships the gods of his own devising; not to mention a religious indifference to which it is wellnigh impossible to make any spiritual appeal. Folk-piety at least was, and is, Christo-centric in tendency, whereas that which has taken its place is more often than not orientated away from Christianity and Christian ethics and morality. For it cannot be denied that the impact of modern thought, much of which is frankly materialistic and incompatible with any religion at all, has shaken confidence in Christian values.

It is therefore hardly surprising if any attempt at restatement should be regarded with the gravest suspicion in many quarters, and the public utterances of certain of the more revolutionary champions of Liberalism have given, and still give, justifiable occasion for alarm. Loisy and Tyrrell have their counterparts to-day in the Anglican Communion, though it is to be hoped that a reaction comparable to that which found expression in the Biblical Commission and the encylical *Pascendi* in 1907 will not be the outcome of their ill-advised attack on the Faith they are solemnly commissioned to defend.

By adopting a narrow, legalistic, and unintelligent attitude towards sound learning and sane scholarship the Vatican has rendered the theologians of the Latin Church impotent to make any serious contribution to the interpretation of historic Christianity in terms of the present intellectual situation. The critical study of the Scriptures must conform to the position laid down by the Biblical Commission, so that, no matter what the evidence may prove, the Gospel of S. Matthew, for example, must be assigned to an earlier date than that of S. Mark, while Mark must come before Luke. These conditions imposed by ecclesiastical authority are such as no scientific investigation can accept ; and the results arrived at by this method can never hope to gain final acceptance in the modern world in which unfettered inquiry is now recognized as essential in the elucidation of truth.

To refuse to acknowledge the results of modern investigation of theological questions in relation to the laws and methods governing the physical universe, the origins of the human race, the development of religion, the composition of the Bible, and the emergence of Judaism and Christianity, is to court disaster ; for, whether we like it or not, the historical and scientific methods have come to stay, and are gradually moulding the thought of the modern world. Any institution which refuses to take account of the new knowledge of the twentieth century is bound to become as moribund as individuals who deliberately shut their eyes to obvious facts, and stop their ears against sounds that cannot be mistaken.

THE LATIN MIND

The religious mind is inclined to be conservative and departmental in its outlook, and as Dr. Rawlinson says :

> There is a recurrent type of mind, fundamentally sceptical and distrustful of reason, and yet craving religious certitude and peace, which will gravitate always towards Rome ; and for minds of this type it is probable that only the Roman Communion is in the long run in a position to cater. The demand of such souls is not for any form of strictly rational or verifiable authority. It is for authority in the form of a purely external and oracular guarantee of intellectual truth, an authority of which the effect, when once its claims have by an initial act of private judgement been definitely acknowledged, shall be to exempt them from any further responsibility of a personal kind for the intellectual truth of the religious beliefs which they entertain.[1]

For people of this Latin cast of mind the Roman jurisdiction must inevitably be the true spiritual home, and it has also a peculiar fascination for emotional, artistic, and literary

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As a serious contribution to the Roman question his book, of course, is valueless, but it is illuminating as a psychological study of secession. It is also a painful example of lamentable theological and historical ignorance on the part of one of the most popular Anglican preachers whose mission was by no means confined to the illiterate, and of the consequences which must inevitably follow when missionary zeal is divorced from sound learning. So long as a catholic-minded person is content to remain oblivious of the actual historical and theological situation before the fifth century, and to shut both eyes to the scientific evidence that has accumulated since the days of Newton and Darwin, doubtless all roads will lead to Rome, though even under these prescribed conditions there are some awkward passes to negotiate.

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[1] V. Johnson, *One Lord, One Faith* (London, 1929). Since this chapter was written a very able reply to Father Vernon has appeared under the title *One God and Father of All* (London, 1929), by E. Milner-White and W. L. Knox, in which not only is the case against Rome convincingly stated, but the Anglican position is completely vindicated in the light of the latest scholarship.

However, when it is supposed, in the words of Cardinal Manning, that ' the appeal to antiquity is both a treason and a heresy. It is a treason because it rejects the Divine Voice of the Church at this hour, and a heresy because it denies that Voice to be Divine,'[1] it is not difficult to maintain intact an inert mass of ancient tradition indissolubly welded together, so long as it is possible to hedge it round with *tabûs* that make serious critical study impossible. Similarly, while the findings of the Biblical Commission can be preserved, the evolutionary view of the universe and of religious development, together with a scientific investigation of the Scriptures, stand condemned, and therefore outside the pale for the faithful.

Such a fortress must appear to those unable to see below the surface, and on the horizon, in the light of a city of refuge founded upon an impregnable rock in a world of uncertainties and relativities. Within its barriers assertions elsewhere known to be incapable of proof, or even baseless, can be repeated as though nothing has happened in recent years to disturb their foundations in historical reality. If the Roman Church places her scholars in an invidious position, and demands intellectual suicide of its better informed adherents, it at least presents a striking spectacle of authority and unity which can hardly fail to attract the Latin type of mind.

Yet, as scholarship advances, and the scientific method becomes more and more established, a society that claims to be the ' True Church ' will be compelled to justify itself at the bar of reason. When modern ways of thinking have permeated all states of culture, fewer people will be content permanently with the practice of a religion which they have temperaments. Thus in the case of two notable recent secessions in England, one convert was a well-known and very able novelist, the other a popular mission preacher who on going to the continent for the first time was so overcome at meeting the surviving sister of a canonized saint at Lisieux, that every argument relevant and irrelevant led him to submission to the Papal claims! But when we come to examine the reasons alleged for his change of jurisdiction,[1] it becomes apparent at once that Mr. Vernon Johnson, having built his faith on the flimsiest of foundations, was easily carried away by a purely emotional storm, not having any anchorage on the rock of historical facts and theological realities. Arguing in a circle he derives the authority of the Church, which he regards as infallible, from the authority of Christ which depends on the Gospels, which again depend on the Church for their reliability. Needless to say it has never occurred to the guileless mind of 'Father Vernon' that the Gospels are historical documents, the reliability of which can only be determined by critical investigation, a suggestion which doubtless he would dismiss under the vague but convenient heading of 'Modernism.' So he rambles on with amazing *naïvité* in blissful ignorance of the results of recent scholarship in the fields of New Testament studies and the early history of the Church, till at length he brings his mind to follow his heart to its natural home.

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[1] *The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost* (London, 1877), p. 238.

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY

The more intensively the New Testament is studied the more apparent it becomes that Christ never attempted to settle complex problems by categorical and dogmatic statements admitting of but one possible interpretation (*S. Matt.* xiii. 34; *S. Mark* xi. 29; *Acts* i. 7). He led His followers to think for themselves and freely, never encouraging the form of laziness and ignorance that refuses to make the effort to face facts when they are perplexing or contrary to received ideas. It would, of course, make things easier in many respects if life presented no problems, and all theological questionings could be solved, as the Reformers imagined, by the literal interpretation of texts from the Bible, or, as the Pope to-day still thinks, by the Church proposing 'a complete and easily understood teaching, immune, when it thus teaches, from all danger of erring.' But in point of fact no such spiritual authority exists anywhere in Christendom. Neither the Papacy, nor Oecumenical Councils, the Bible or the 'Inner Light' of the individual conscience, satisfy the requirements of the theory. Furthermore, in His incarnate life our Lord Himself refused to give categorical assurance to S. John the Baptist in prison, or to His own commissioned Apostles, even on the eve of His final departure from them.

He counsels His followers to seek if they would find, to keep the eye single if the whole body would be full of light; and while it is a wicked and adulterous generation that expects a sign of revelation from heaven to teach men what they ought to learn by their own observation and investigation, yet He confidently promised a Divine self-disclosure to those who approach the Father in spirit and in truth. In this knowledge, and in the strength of the indwelling Spirit, both the Divine Society and its members are enabled to go forward 'dealing frankly with human life as capable of revealing God, using human learning and inquiry as having their own validity and sanctity, and not expecting that these shall be dispensed with and silenced by the intrusion of a voice standing over against them, compelling and commanding.'[1]

THE LIBERAL ORTHODOX POSITION

If to be a Catholic involves thinking and acting in terms of the whole, it implies a large measure of ordered freedom so that the deeper unity in the one Faith may be realized amid a wide diversity in its apprehension and expression. There is room, therefore, within the Body corporate for a synthetic presentation of Christianity as an institutional religion in which all that is true and of permanent value in the tradition and devotional experience of Christendom are maintained, while at the same time the methods and results of critical scholarship are readily adopted and welcomed. In an age when thought is in a state of flux, and Christianity is endeavouring to adapt itself to a changed and changing environment, the facts of religious experience deeply laid in history, and the general consensus of the Church in matters of faith require to be studied with the utmost care in relation to the new knowledge that is pouring in from all directions, lest, on the one hand, the new revelation be missed through failure to adapt the mind to it, and, on the other hand, provisional hypotheses be confused with assured results. The tendency of Protestant Liberalism is to break away from the religious experience of historic Christianity, whereas the Liberal Catholic takes his stand upon the fundamental beliefs of Christendom as set forth authoritatively by the whole Church at Nicaea and Chalcedon, employing the methods now current in the learned world to interpret in the light of fuller knowledge the Faith as it has been received throughout the ages.

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[1] T. B. Strong, *The Primary Charge of the Bishop of Oxford* (Oxford, 1928), p. 22.

In dealing with new material there is need for a wise conservatism as well as a true liberalism, the properly verified conclusions of competent authorities only being abandoned with the greatest caution. Thus every biologist and anthropologist realizes that the Darwinian hypothesis to-day continually requires re-statement to bring it into line with recent research, but the general principle of evolution remains as firmly established as ever. Similarly in the domain of theology, while Christianity must be stated in terms of the present world-view if it is to carry conviction, the cardinal verities of the Faith, which have stood the test of nearly two thousand years of spiritual experience, cannot lightly be set aside, or be at the mercy of the latest theory of speculative theology. In view of these considerations, we venture to believe that a Critical Catholicism or Liberal Orthodoxy has something to contribute to the Church in the modern world.

The Mystical Body of Christ has yet to find its completion, and realize its true Catholic ideal—'the fullness of Him that filleth all in all.' In the long and varied course of Christian development, definition has been inevitable to safeguard the original 'pattern of sound words,' and to give emphasis, sometimes unduly, to certain truths hitherto obscured or neglected. There have also been developments which can only be regarded as accretions, either temporarily expedient or contrary to the true nature of Christianity. The problem of the moment is the re-statement of the Faith and re-establishment of the unity of the Church in such a manner that all that is true and of permanent value may be preserved, and that which is false and transitory discarded. Since this implies patient research conducted with strict impartiality and single-ness of aim, it can only be accomplished by the application of the scientific method to theological investigation.

It must be admitted that a great deal of theological work in the past has been vitiated at its source not only through being prompted by party considerations and sectarian interests, but also by the adoption of an unscientific method of approach. Thus, without in the least denying the validity of such concepts as Revelation and miraculous interventions in the natural order (which, as it seems to us, are inevitable conclusions from the transcendent conception of God, and His relation to the universe), it is a wrong method to begin by prejudging an issue in terms of supernatural sanctions by no means universally admitted. Hitherto there has been so much arguing in circles, and drawing inferences from premises now rightly or wrongly regarded as fundamentally faulty, that theological reasoning tends to be at a discount outside its own domain. This is prejudicial to religion. On the other hand, when the scientific method is adopted, the interests of faith and truth are equally served.

If theology is to be established on a really sound basis in the modern world, it must first be recognized that our attitude towards the Scriptures has been considerably modified by recent research. This, however, has yet to be brought home to the minds of very many educated people. Thus, for example, while few would be prepared to maintain that the sun goes round the earth, as the Biblical authors imagined, yet it has been seriously suggested that 'the sun which had been hidden by thick clouds, was just about to shine forth, when Joshua prayed to the Lord that it might be *silent*, i.e. remain obscured behind the clouds which it did during the rest of the day.'[1] Similar 'naturalistic' explanations of legendary events are frequently offered to account for alleged miraculous interventions, such as the theory that the waters of the Red Sea were driven back by a strong easterly gale conveniently blowing just when the Israelites reached the shore.

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[1] Turton, *The Truth of Christianity* (London, 1919), p. 179, a volume now in its ninth edition, and having run into the 'fortieth thousand,' and been 'carefully revised throughout'!

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Again, attempts are often made to transform inspired folklore into historical episodes by the misapplication of scientific evidence, as, for example, when Mr. Woolley announced some months ago the discovery of data at Ur relating to a deluge in Southern Babylonia about 3,400 B.C. This, together with similar evidence by Professor Langdon from Kish, was at once hailed with delight in certain quarters as confirming the Biblical hypothesis, regardless of the fact that the purpose of the Genesis story is to describe the annihilation of the entire human race, and the re-creation of a new world-order in the person of Noah and his family. Theories or facts about local deluges, therefore, do not touch the vital issue since they afford merely a possible historical background for the story without throwing any light upon the crucial point—'the drowning of all the world except eight persons.' No well-informed person to-day presumably would attempt to maintain a sudden break in the human race in view of the overwhelming evidence of a continuous evolution in type from the emergence of man at the end of the Tertiary or the beginning of the Pleistocene period to the present day, to say nothing of the archaeological data showing a sequence of cultures from the Palaeolithic onwards, or of the impossibility of explaining the migrations of peoples and racial differentia in terms of the Biblical hypothesis. That the Genesis Flood story has a religious and inspirational value cannot be denied, for folk-lore can be made a medium of revelation as readily as history ; but it only confuses the issue when the true character of a narrative is misunderstood.

The same applies to inferences as to the fate of the Pharaoh of the Exodus deduced from certain encrustrations found on the mummy of Merenptah. Leaving on one side the very hypothetical nature of the evidence, there are no less than four different theories put forth by experts concerning the date of the Exodus,[1] and as Professor Peet says, 'The belief that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus can only be described as so flimsy that it is difficult to see how the belief can ever have arisen.'[1] Until this all-important question is decided, the traditional account of the crossing of the Red Sea will not derive very much help from the alleged water-worn condition of the mortal remains of Merenptah.

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[1] J. W. Jack, *The Date of the Exodus in the Light of the External Evidence* (Edinburgh, 1925).

So long as apologists are content to misapply scientific evidence to bolster up an obsolete theology, and to think in quasi-phantasy terms, little headway will be made towards the establishment of an apologetic based on sound learning and reality. Reason must be applied freely and critically to Revelation in order to bring the past into line with the present by supplying it with new knowledge, and thereby gaining a deeper realization of eternal truth. Every period of decline in history is a failure to rise to the occasion through the tenacious holding on to a set of fixed ideas transplanted out of their proper environment ; or, conversely, a too ready capacity for the assimilation of undigested knowledge. The Renaissance was a creative movement because it brought the vitality of Greek culture to the mediaeval outlook which had become decadently narrow and rigid. Buddhism, on the other hand, lost itself in the ideas and systems it embraced because its anti-doctrinal elements led it to comprehend theism and atheism, polytheism and pantheism, 'fetishism' and animism.

So to-day the Church, to regain its vigour, seems to be called to adopt a middle course between a failure to react to the stimulus of its new environment, and the rejection of its essential character. There are those, of course, who would say that it must lose its life to save it, but that is a counsel of despair. Moreover, if historic Christianity has so completely failed, it may well be asked whether it is worth while to preserve a mere shadow of the true. There are others who appear to be content with an obsolete theology completely out of touch with the thought and life of the age, and therefore calculated to make but little impression upon it. We believe that neither of these alternatives is necessary or desirable. At present, it is true, we are very far from having

[1] T. E. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Liverpool, 1922), p. 108.

arrived at finality in any department of knowledge, and the Church of the future may have to speak on many matters with rather less assurance than has often been its custom in the past. But in a world in which knowledge is so very relative and incomplete, it is a distinct gain to know in part and to prophesy in part lest when that which is perfect is come pronouncements based on partial knowledge be done away. It does not, however, follow that in consequence a definite doctrinal standpoint should be abandoned. On the contrary, intelligent investigation must always proceed from previously received truth, however imperfectly understood some of the original propositions may be.

The Gospel has been given, as the Archbishops have reminded us, and the Church is called to bear witness to the great body of truth about God and man that has been revealed. Since Christianity is essentially a historical religion, it cannot with impunity be cut off from its origins and continuous traditions. Furthermore, if faith is not based on a sound credal and institutional foundation, it tends to develop into mere speculation and intellectualism, just as institutionalism becomes legalistic and obscurantist when it refuses to face facts. The fundamental teaching of the Church concerning God and Jesus Christ, the revelation of God and the Gospel of Redemption through Christ, the divine origin of the Church and its sacramental system, are, we are convinced,
?? foundation-truths which only become more firmly established and more deeply understood as they are brought into the fuller light of modern knowledge. The Synoptic tradition and the
?? faith of the Creeds alone explain Christianity, for the Christ of history cannot be separated from the Christ of the Creeds without destroying the whole fabric of the Faith.

As Dr. Strong has said:

> I do not quarrel with the attempt to disentangle the 'Jesus of history' from the existing records. But I think we have a right to ask that the figure which results should account for the existence of the Church and the development of its thought and practice. I venture to think that this condition is not fulfilled. There is one fact written large over the New Testament as a whole,

This has already been done.

which is that the new movement in religion, whatever it was, dated from the presence in the world of Jesus Christ. None of those to whom it fell to spread the movement were in the smallest doubt about this. . . . You may study the Apocalypses and the mystery religions and the current philosophy, and show, probably quite truly, how various elements in the doctrine of the New Testament fit on to elements in pre-Christian and non-Christian thought: but this will not explain the figure of Christ—the impression He made upon His followers. What is called the 'Jesus of History' will not, I think, displace the Jesus of the New Testament, and of the New Testament as a whole and not merely of the Gospels.[1]

The present trend of theological thought is to approach spiritual reality psychologically rather than historically, but if the validity of experience is questioned less than that of historical revelation and credal definition, individual experience requires to be corrected or reinforced by the collective experience of the Church as a historical society, and tested by the Christ of the Gospels, the Apostolic tradition, and ?? the Creeds. Thus, and only thus, can the permanent and continuous experience of historic Christianity be determined; for spiritual experience, like the fullness of truth, must find doctrinal expression in intellectual terms. The thought-forms of particular ages may change and lose their meaning for subsequent generations, but the vital underlying truths remain unchanged.

The original categories of Christianity were derived from Jewish thought, and these quickly passed into Hellenistic philosophical concepts, and thence into the world of Latin and Scholastic metaphysical legalisms. These have all had their day, and the continuous and expanding Christian tradition must now find its place in the scientific categories of modern thought, but without undergoing any essential change in meaning. Here, however, we are faced with a fundamental difficulty arising from the fact that a satisfactory Christian philosophy no longer exists. To-day all philosophies are in great measure discredited, and as Professor Urban has recently remarked, 'all agree in denying the premises and postulates of traditional philosophy, and, like the minute philosophers of Berkeley's time, degrade philosophy to a mere pittance of its former self.'[1] 'The advance of science,' says Dr. Matthews, 'seems like the assured march of an army of many battalions, never turning back, each element supporting and supplementing the efforts of all the others. Philosophers, on the other hand, appear to be a collection of warring partisans proceeding in different directions. They do not move on, so it seems, to new problems. They are discussing the same questions as those which occupied them when philosophy first began. The nature of knowledge, the nature of reality—these are still open questions.'[2] So desperate, in fact, is the position that Dr. Inge has been moved to observe that 'the history of philosophy since Kant is strewn with the wrecks of systems. The only question is whether any ship is left afloat.'[3]

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[1] T. B. Strong, *The Gospel and the Creed* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 10 ff.

In seeking a satisfactory solution of the old Christological problem, 'What think ye of Christ, whose son is He?' we are therefore driven back to the ancient creeds in our quest for a doctrinal statement of the basic fact of Christianity, and while we are under no misapprehensions concerning the particular categories of philosophical thought in which the Nicene formula is expressed, yet in asserting that Jesus Christ is consubstantial with the Father and the Spirit, it is bearing witness to the foundation truth of Christianity—that He is really and essentially God as well as truly and perfectly Man. Upon this bedrock truth the Church must take its stand as the irreducible minimum of the historic Faith of Christendom, and while readily granting that the eternal verities require to be stated in terms of the thought of the age, make the Nicene Creed and the Chalcedonian definition the lowest common multiple of belief in a reunited Church.

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In the past the tendency has been towards over definition, resulting in the division of Christendom into sects and schisms. First the accretion of the Papacy split the Church into East and West, and then, with the further break-up of the West in the sixteenth century, the subsequent divisions were stereotyped by each society drawing up its own confessions of faith. Now that a new spirit is developing among all sections of Christian conviction,[1] analogous to that which is finding expression in the industrial world and the field of international politics, the Nicene Creed is rightly being regarded as the basis for a union in faith of all who profess and call themselves Christians.

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[1] W. M. Urban, *The Intelligible World* (London, 1929), p. 20.

[2] W. R. Matthews in *The Mind*. Edited by McDowall (London, 1927), p. 153.

[3] *Science and Ultimate Truth* (London, 1926), p. 6.

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CHRISTIAN REUNION

On this impregnable rock really solid foundations can be erected ; for the task before the Church in the modern world is nothing less than that of rebuilding from the beginnings. Modern knowledge cuts across all the old divisions, and herein lies the hope for the future, for on the old sectarian and party basis of controversy there can be little prospect of the healing of the breaches. Yet a divided Christendom can never be really the one Catholic and Apostolic Church in its completeness, however much any one section of it may claim to be the only true remnant of the whole. The present unhappy state of division is doubtless more apparent in countries like England and America than in areas such as France and Spain where one communion holds sway. But it also saps the life of the Church in Eastern Europe, where the ceaseless war between the Orthodox and the Uniate sections of the community presents a sorry spectacle, while in Germany, Austria, and the Northern countries the forces of Christianity are again hampered by theological divisions. It is, then, with a sense of profound thankfulness that the growth of a new temper among Christians seeking a symbol of unity instead of further

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[1] It is not infrequently said, and unfortunately with abundant cause, that Rome is the outstanding exception to this general desire. This is notably true in England, but such a book as K. Adam's *The Spirit of Catholicism* (English translation, London, 1929) reveals a very different spirit in process of development in continental Roman Catholicism.

disunion, must be viewed by all men of goodwill, especially in view of the peculiar difficulties encountered by missionaries in India and elsewhere as a result of Christian divisions.

Nevertheless, moved by the urgency of the need, there is a very real danger of our losing sight of the real aim of the new movements for unity, and forgetting how very deep-seated are the things which divide us. Just as the scientific method is only now beginning to create a sound apologetic, so the synthetic outlook is still in its infancy in the various conflicting traditions of Christendom. There are certain local cleavages in the subdivisions of Protestantism which would not be difficult to bring together, as, for example, in the case of the Methodist and Presbyterian denominations ; while it might even be possible by means of a uniate church to absorb a considerable number of Anglo-Catholics into the Papal jurisdiction, while the union of a large section of Anglicanism with the Orthodox East would seem to be practical politics. But such partial amalgamations do not constitute the real problem which is nothing less than the reunion of Christendom as a whole.

The real oecumenical aims, which alone can prove effective in the long run, were recognized as long ago as 1886 when the American House of Bishops affirmed that—

> the Christian unity now so earnestly desired . . . can be restored only by the return of all Christian Communions to the principles of unity exemplified by the undivided Catholic Church during the first ages of its existence; which principles we believe to be the substantial deposit of Christian Faith and Order committed by Christ and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and therefore incapable of compromise or surrender by those who have been ordained to be its stewards and trustees for the common and equal benefit of all men.[1]

This constituted the basis of the so-called 'Lambeth Quadrilateral' in 1888, and the Lambeth Conference in 1920 preserved this oecumenical outlook and general background in its series of resolutions on unity and its 'Appeal to all Christian People.' Unfortunately, however, on this last occasion some of the language employed was diplomatic rather than explicit, especially in connection with the ministry; which has tended to obscure the issue and to complicate a complex situation.

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[1] *Journal of the General Convention of* 1886, p. 80.

The Anglican Communion, looking as it does to the common mind of the whole Church for guidance in matters of faith and practice, while at the same time having cast off the shackles of ultramontanism and fundamentalism, is favourably placed to take the lead in the new movements for the reunion of Christendom. Nevertheless, the mere fact that it comprehends a great variety in spiritual experience, diverse temperaments, and the traditions of a many-sided life within its borders, lays upon it a serious responsibility to its own members as well as to the Church at large. Comprehensiveness inevitably carries with it conflicting traditions and convictions, and there is always a danger of loosely attached groups breaking away from the body corporate. This perhaps is particularly the case in the Church of England at the present time, and we can imagine no greater disaster to the oecumenical movement than for such a catastrophe to be precipitated by premature attempts at reunion. The Anglican Communion is Christendom in microcosm, and if this Apostolic fellowship should prove to be incapable of sustaining corporate unity, what hope is there of even more heterogeneous groups holding together for any length of time? The inevitable result of premature *rapprochement* at this initial stage in the movement would surely be to resolve Christianity into a sharply defined and antagonistic dualism of Catholicism and Protestantism which must mean postponing any hope of oecumenical reunion to the Greek calends.

As the Archbishop of York has said:

> Reunion when it comes will not come by way of absorption (though Rome impenitently clings to that vain hope), nor by mere agreement to differ, but by the mutual understanding and mutual appreciation which make possible a real synthesis of all that is precious in all the uniting traditions.[1]

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[1] W. Temple, *The Genius of the Church of England* (London, 1928), p. 4.

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This, however, involves drastic changes in our denominational outlooks which can only come about through a thorough investigation of the causes and occasions of doctrinal divisions in the full light of modern knowledge. Every difference of Faith and Order that now divides Christians should be faced quite frankly and fearlessly, and anything in the nature of ambiguity of thought or language studiously avoided, for nothing short of a really common mind on the fundamental issues will ultimately suffice.

The World Conference at Lausanne in 1927 was a definite step in this direction since it maintained the oecumenical aspects of the problem, and sought to promote 'mutual understanding' by 'the clear statement and full consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as those things in which we are at one.' The presence of representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Church, and the more Catholic side of the Church of England, preserved it from a pan-Protestant outlook. The refusal of Rome to participate is regrettable from every point of view, but it serves as a reminder of the very long way that has yet to be traversed before our Lord's great prayer for the unity of His Church is likely to be fulfilled. A reunion that excludes the largest section of Western Christianity can scarcely be said to have accomplished its purpose, but until the current attitude of the Vatican very materially changes the prospect in this direction is hardly encouraging.

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Nevertheless, the resources of divine providence have to be considered, and we know that it is the will of God that His Church should be one in Faith and Love. With the progress of scientific thinking, which is the characteristic feature of the modern world, the old prejudices, anachronisms, and party and sectional cries, must gradually disappear, as men come to think more and more in terms of realities. Ultramontanism and obscurantism, wherever they occur, will eventually have to yield to the growing intelligence of all states of culture and religious conviction. The great need of the moment, as it seems to us, is not for premature schemes of superficial *rapprochement*, which might easily set back for

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The progress of scientific theology is opening out a new vision of the truth as it has been revealed in Jesus and handed on through the ages. A new field of research lies before us, full of boundless possibilities. Inheritors of a great tradition of faith and experience, we cannot but regard as a sacred trust all that has proved vital to the Christian community throughout the ages. We should be faithless if we were to treat our heritage lightly, but by the help of the knowledge which has been vouchsafed in these latter days, problems hitherto insoluble now appear very differently. If much remains to be done to establish the Faith on a sound intellectual and devotional basis, a great deal has been accomplished in recent years. In a new apologetic based on a scientific theology lies the hope of a new unity—*recapitulari omnia in Christo.* If to-day, as in Florence at the time of the Renaissance, there is a tendency to run after every new thing, there is also a new stability founded on deep thinking, and not a few are looking to Christianity for guidance in the correlation of the facts of life with the Christian Faith. This affords the Church in the modern world a magnificent opportunity to present its ancient and eternal message in terms of an assured theological position based on the implications of the scientific method.

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